UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA

PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO EM LETRAS/INGLÊS E LITERATURA CORRESPONDENTE

TEACHING AND LEARNING BRAZILIAN SIGN LANGUAGE AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: A MICROETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

por

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Dissertação submetida à Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina em cumprimento parcial dos requisitos para obtenção do grau de

MESTRE EM LETRAS

FLORIANÓPOLIS

Maio 1999

To my parents, Pedro and Diva, for...

just everything!

Esta dissertação de Audrei Gesser, intitulada "Teaching and learning Brazilian Sign Language as a foreign language: A microethnographic description", foi julgada adequada e aprovada em sua forma final, pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras/Inglês e Literatura Correspondente, da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, para fins de obtenção do grau de

MESTRE EM LETRAS

Área de concentração: Inglês e Literatura Correspondente
Opção: Língua Inglesa e Lingüística Aplicada

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many professors, colleagues, and friends have been, through different ways, of invaluable assistance in the preparation of this thesis.

First, I would like to thank Maria Tereza T. R. Sena, who promptly intermediated my access to NUCLEIND, and who helped me to clear up questions about issues related to the deaf. Thanks also to the participants of this research, without whom this study would not have been possible.

I am also grateful to Eduardo and Pinho from LANTEC (Laboratório de Novas Tecnologias), at UFSC's School of Education for their assistance in preparing the copies and editing the video-recorded data.

Thanks to the members of ISE (Interação Social e Etnografia)-- Clara, Cláudia, Maria do Carmo, Mariza, and Pedro--with whom I had many opportunities to share my thoughts and receive important feedback on this work. A special thanks goes to Clara, Maria do Carmo, and Rodrigo for their comments and criticisms on the final draft of chapter four.

I am extremely indebted to Dr. Marilda do Couto Cavalcanti and Dr. Viviane Heberle, who kindly accepted the invitation to take part in the examining committee and share their knowledge with me.

My deepest gratitude, however, goes to my supervisor, Dr. Pedro M. Garcez, for helping me overcome my limitations through the many discussions we had, for his countless comments and suggestions on the drafts of this work, and for wisely showing me the way through my reflections and concerns.

ABSTRACT

TEACHING AND LEARNING BRAZILIAN SIGN LANGUAGE AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: A MICROETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

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1999

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This research describes naturally occurring classroom interaction in a setting where a deaf-native signer teacher and his hearing and non-hearing students come together to teach and learn LIBRASFL (Brazilian Sign Language as a foreign language). Grounded on ethnographic methods (Agar, 1980; Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson, 1992), and following the perspective of interactional sociolinguistics to analyse language in social context (Gumperz, 1982, 1986), I set up a typology of the functions of speech (oralization) that hold across in this specific interaction, emphasising that the high occurrence of speech usage in this classroom is linked to an ingrained cultural habit of the hearing community. After that, three major interactive teaching frames are identified: informal, parallel, and marginal. In this analysis, I show that the participants' co-construction of these frames is related to the types of *participation structures* they establish (Shultz, Florio & Erickson, 1982) and to the *footings* they assume (Goffman, 1981) in interaction. This analysis reveals that participants spend a considerable time in interaction to both constitute "the social encounter", and "the object LIBRAS" before

attaining their goal which is the teaching and learning of the target language. The findings of this thesis research work stress the need for an integration between the fields of applied linguistics (specially FLT) and deaf education, suggesting that they have contributions to make to each another.

RESUMO

ENSINO E APRENDIZAGEM DA LINGUAGEM BRASILEIRA DE SINAIS COMO LÍNGUA ESTRANGEIRA: UMA DESCRIÇÃO MICROETNOGRÁFICA

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1999

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Esta pesquisa descreve a interação de sala de aula ocorrida naturalmente em um ambiente onde um professor surdo sinalizador nativo e seus alunos ouvintes e não ouvintes se encontram para ensinar e aprender LIBRASLE (Linguagem Brasileira de Sinais como língua estrangeira). Com base em métodos etnográficos (Agar, 1980; Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson, 1992), e seguindo a perspectiva da Sociolingüística Interacional, que analisa a linguagem no seu contexto social (Gumperz, 1982, 1986), estabelece-se uma tipologia das funções da fala (oralização) que ocorre nesta interação específica, enfatizando que a elevada ocorrência do uso da fala nesta sala de aula está relacionada a um hábito cultural intrínseco da comunidade ouvinte. Em seguida, três principais enquadres interativos de ensino são identificados: informal, paralelo e marginal. Nessa análise, mostra-se que a *co-construção* desses enquadres pelos participantes está relacionada aos tipos de *estrutura de participação* que eles estabelecem (Shultz, Florio e Erickson, 1982) e aos *alinhamentos* que eles assumem na interação (Goffman, 1981). Esta análise revela que os participantes dedicam um tempo

considerável na interação para constituir tanto "o encontro social" quanto "o objeto LIBRAS" antes de atingir seus objetivos de ensinar e aprender a língua alvo. Esta dissertação conclui enfatizando a necessidade de uma integração entre as áreas da Lingüística Aplicada (especialmente ELE) e da Educação de surdos, sugerindo que essas áreas têm contribuições a fazer uma à outra.

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KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION[1]

T01/ S01. E-1. T01-10 "T01" indicates tape one, meaning the first class recorded; "S01" indicates segment number one; "E-1" excerpt one; "T01-10" the turns transcribed[2]

(.) indicates micro-pause of less than 1 second

(1.5) indicates pause longer than 1 second

: indicates an extension of the sound

? upward pointing arrows indicate rising intonation

→ utterances analysed

° ° degree signs are used to indicate that a passage is spoken softly

CAPS capital letters are used to indicate that a passage is spoken loudly

- a single dash indicates break in speech

< > indicates accelerated pace in speech

[brackets indicate interruption or overlapped speech

= indicates no interval between the end of a turn and start of the next

((*italics*)) transcriber interpretation of the action

( ) unintelligible segment

/w/o/r/d/ indicates the fingerspelling of words

{✍} the drawing of a hand indicates the use of LIBRAS[3]

[Portuguese
{✍} indicates the simultaneous use of spoken Portuguese and LIBRAS

antes {✍ before} participant produces utterances in both languages subsequently

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[1] Transcription convention adapted from Jefferson (1984).
[2] Code adapted from Garcez (1991).
[3] Since we are dealing with a spatial-visual language without a writing system, the utterances within the braces are translated into English. This, therefore, is an oralized transcription of LIBRAS use.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"What matters deafness of the ear, when the mind hears. The one true deafness, the incurable deafness, is that of the mind". (Victor Hugo Ferdinand Berthier, 1845, cited in Lane, 1984, p. x)

1.1. Interest in the issue

The history and the language of deaf[1] people have been ignored and misunderstood for a long time. Most people (including linguists) did not believe that the languages of the deaf were fully structured natural human languages. Some assumed that it was merely the fingerspelling of words and sentences from oral languages.[2] Others believed that sign languages were limited, and that it was not possible to convey abstract ideas through them. Deaf people had to thus live within a context "dominated"[3] by the hearing world during centuries. In the 1960s, William C. Stokoe--the first linguist who analysed deaf people's language in a new way, that is, breaking the "tradition of describing signs as whole picture signs" (Padden & Humphries, 1996, p. 79)--came up with a description of the structure of American Sign Language (ASL). Some years later, Edward Klima and Ursula Bellugi (1979) carried out a thorough analysis of the

[1] It is common practice in the specialised literature to use the capitalised term *Deaf* to refer to a particular group of deaf people who share a language, values and beliefs, and the term *deaf* to refer to the audiological condition of not hearing. However, in this study I will avoid such distinction because I agree with Bayton (1996) when he says that, while the distinction is relevant, it is difficult to know "at what precise point do deaf people become Deaf" (p. 12).

[2] Some authors use the word *spoken* as a synonym of *oral* languages. In this study, however, I prefer to use the word *oral* when making this reference, since I believe that deaf people "speak" through their sign languages.

[3] Groce (1985) gives a brief overview of hearing people's attitude toward deafness. For example, Both (cited in Groce, 1985, p. 98) writes that "in many places they [the deaf] were not allowed to assume the rights and responsibilities of adult citizens even after receiving education". Moreover, Padden and Humphries (1996) point out that there were some schools that did not allow the children to use signs to communicate--deaf children, then, were forced to speak the local oral language and lip-read.

grammar of ASL. Since that time, the situation of non-hearing people has changed significantly. Researchers from different fields (linguistics, sociolinguistics, education, anthropology) have been concerned with the language, the culture, and the education of deaf people.

Contrary to the U.S.--where researchers stress the value and the richness of studies related to the deaf--in Brazil there is still a lack of knowledge (and interest) regarding matters concerned with deaf people's life. The few researchers who deal with deaf-related issues still have to face some difficulties: scarce funding, and, mainly, the dearth of research available in the area. As for the first problem, I would say that many other fields in Brazil do not receive the deserved assistance either. However, when it comes to the problem of the dearth of existing studies, one will only understand the dimension of the problem upon entering the world of the deaf.

Moreover, the situation of deaf people within the Brazilian educational system is very complex. Although sign language is a full-fledged language like any other, it is the language of an almost invisible minority.[4] Very few schools in Brazil use Brazilian Sign Language (LIBRAS) to instruct deaf people. In Santa Catarina, there are no public schools for the deaf with a curriculum designed to cater to deaf children's needs; there is no training of educational professionals to be able to perform in LIBRAS. Deaf children in Santa Catarina, thus, are mainstreamed in the educational system together with hearing students. This means that, instead of adopting LIBRAS as the language of instruction, other codes and communicative improvisations (oral language, lip-reading, total communication, etc.)[5] are used to teach deaf children the disciplines required in

[4] The notion of minority language referred to in this study "has more to do with power than with number" (Hornberger, 1998, p. 453).

[5] The "oral method" does not use sign language to instruct deaf children. These children, thus, are trained to speak and read lips to become literate. Total communication, on the other hand, is an approach in which

the curriculum. Avoiding deaf people's language in the instruction of other disciplines thus increases the possibilities of the children's failure. According to Cummins (1979, 1981, cited in La Bue, 1995)

> students who learn academic concepts and literacy skills in their native language can more readily and quickly transfer those skills to a second language because knowledge is grounded in the language and schema they comprehend. (p. 207)

La Bue (1995) investigated a context where a hearing teacher did not use American Sign Language to give instruction to deaf children in a reading task. She concluded that most of those children failed the task because the instruction was not provided through the children's natural language. The teacher in this study used mainly signed English (the signed version of English, following the order and structure of the oral language) to instruct them.

Among the participants of the interactional encounters observed for this study, there is an example of an eleven-year-old deaf boy who is still in first grade, and he is not mentally or physically handicapped beyond his deafness. From the information I have, this child is receiving instruction in oral language in a group composed of hearing students. Unfortunately, the majority of settings show the "misleading way" deaf people are being "integrated" into the hearing world. The consequences for these children, then, are twofold. First, they run the risk of not fully developing any natural human language, which will compromise a number of their cognitive abilities. As a result, they

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educators combine many communicative resources--gestures, oral language, sign language, lip-reading, dactylology (fingerspelling of words), etc.--to educate deaf children.

may be condemned to utter solitude for life (Pinker, 1995).[6] Second, they do not receive adequate instruction at school--the right of any citizen.[7]

For these deaf children to have adequate instruction, then, educators must become crucial players in their lives. Besides the educational challenge of reaching these students per se, educators must also face the non-overlapping diversity of communicative resources among them and their deaf and hearing students. In this sense, the significant lack of educators who are competent in Brazilian Sign Language and deaf culture is a real problem. The educators who work in the area seldom have an understanding of the structure and the history of sign language. Moreover, the field of LIBRAS instruction is not well prepared to respond to the native and non-native teachers' needs. To my knowledge, there are no studies on teacher training programs, special materials, and literature on foreign language instruction focusing on Brazilian Sign Language, and no conversation exists between the fields of applied linguistics and deaf teacher education.

Concerned with this situation, I decided to investigate a setting where educators of deaf people come together to learn LIBRASFL. This study, then, works as a 'bridge' between the field of deaf education and applied linguistics, especially FLT, since there are issues at stake in this LIBRASFL encounter that are of interest to the FLT field, such as the relevance of the teacher's native-speaker status, principles of pronunciation, the teaching of grammar, among others. John Oller (1989) argues that

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[6] Pinker (1995) discusses research work in psycholinguistics related to infant deprivation of language input to argue that "the outcome is always the same: the children are mute, and often remain so. Whatever innate grammatical abilities there are, they are too schematic to generate speech, words, and grammatical constructions on their own" (p. 277).

[7] Hornberger (1998) refers to some declarations of language rights which claim that people (whatever their linguistic community) should have the right to be educated in their own language (pp. 450-451).

"some of the highest levels of language instruction take place in the realm of signed languages" (cited in Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997, p. 88).

1.2. Purposes of this thesis

Following Gumperz's interactional sociolinguistic point of view, that is, "a theory based on face-to-face communication ... concerned with the interpretation of social meaning in interaction" (Figueroa, 1994, p. 139), this research describes naturally occurring LIBRASFL classroom interaction--that is, a LIBRAS as a FOREIGN LANGUAGE context--between a deaf native-signer teacher and his hearing and non-hearing students in order to see how these people interact and co-construct meaning and action in their dealings together.

Grounded on ethnographic research methods (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson, 1992; Agar, 1980), I examine such interaction through the analysis of video recordings and participant-observation in order to discover locally distinctive patterns of participants' roles and status. In addition, I also describe how the structures of this teacher's teaching practice are organised.

The following two sets of research questions are the point of departure for the present study:

1- What is the teaching of LIBRASFL like in these classes? How are the structures of the activities organised? How is the input of the target language presented, practised and produced? What are the materials? How does the teacher evaluate the students? What is typical/atypical in these classes?

2- How do deaf teacher and hearing students understand each other? How does the teacher deal with the two types of audiences present (hearing and non-hearing students)? What is the interactional status of the deaf children? What is the status of the content of instruction (LIBRAS) for the deaf children? To what extent does the content differ from one audience to another? Analysis of these questions will be carried out by privileging the participant's perspective.

1.3. Organisation of this work

To answer the research questions above, I organised this thesis in the following way:

Chapter 2 presents a sociolinguistic overview of sign languages, providing a historical account of American Sign Language (ASL) and Brazilian Sign Language (LIBRAS). Afterwards, I draw a parallel between oral and sign languages, pointing out their similarities and their differences as well as common misconceptions about sign languages. The chapter closes with a discussion of the applicability of standard FLT methods to sign languages' contexts.

In chapter 3, I present the description of the constitutive elements of the LIBRASFL classroom teaching observed. Initially, a brief report is offered, describing how I entered the field. Then, I discuss the setting where this interaction takes place, providing a view of the physical environment and some information about the participants. Finally, I discuss the methodology for data collection and the procedures followed in the analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the microethnographic description of the LIBRASFL classroom interaction based on the analysis of a number of transcribed segments. This

chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first, I discuss the function of oral speech, emphasising the interactional situation in which it arises. Next, I set up a typology for the function of oral speech which holds across this specific LIBRASFL situation, highlighting three categories of speech use by the participants--the spontaneous, elicited and simultaneous use of sign and speech. Grounded on Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualization cues, this analysis shows that the use of speech by participants in this setting is strongly related to an inherent aspect of the culture of the hearing community these participants come from.

In the second section, I discuss theoretical concepts--such as *participation structures* and *footing*--that lead to the identification of the three major teaching frames within this interaction. The analyses of these interactional teaching frames demonstrate that participants are, in a joint action, constructing the "social encounter" and the "object LIBRAS" before attaining their institutional goal of teaching and learning the target language. Together with the delineation of the three frames, I highlight the importance of discussing social participation structures for this specific context due to the differently salient channel for communication (visual-gestural x oral-aural) between the deaf teacher and his hearing students.

Chapter 5 concludes this work. After providing a summary of the whole analysis, I stress the relevance of this study for the fields of deaf education and applied linguistics, especially foreign language teaching (FLT). Finally, I offer some suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

AMERICAN SIGN LANGUAGE (ASL) AND BRAZILIAN SIGN LANGUAGE (LIBRAS): A SOCIOLINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

> *"The language of the deaf is transmitted each time a deaf mother holds her baby to her breast and signs to it; no hearing person has anything to do with this". (Lane, 1984, p. 59)*[8]

This chapter is divided in three sections. In the first one, I contrast the historical development of ASL and LIBRAS, showing how both languages have their roots in French Sign Language (FSL). This overview stresses the main approaches in the education of deaf people since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Then, I point out some characteristics of both oral and sign languages (section 2.2), emphasising, that, despite their similarities, they are distinct forms of language, with their own peculiarities. In addition, I discuss the misconceptions most people have in relation to the sign languages of the deaf. Finally, in section 2.3, I reflect on the question of the extent to which standard FLT methods can be applied to sign language teaching contexts, and what benefits may be gained from the FLT field in this sense. The purpose of this discussion is to give the reader an appreciation for the linguistic and sociolinguistic complexity of the task facing teachers and learners of LIBRASFL as in the interactional setting studied here.

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[8] Throughout his book, Harlan Lane personifies Laurent Clerc (a prestigious deaf character who had influenced sign-language-medium education of deaf people). Lane argues that he "speak[s] in Clerc's name in order to present the views of the deaf themselves as clearly and cogently as possible" (1984, p. xvi).

2.1. ASL and LIBRAS: A historical account

There are few documents registered by or about deaf people which might provide information about the origin and the development of sign as a language among deaf people. However, Wilcox and Wilcox (1997) argue that there are two sources of evidence that show natural sign language use.

The first one is the situation of Martha's Vineyard, a small island community off the Massachusetts coast, where a high incidence of hereditary deafness was observed from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century. Groce (1985) dedicates a whole book to describing this rare situation on the island. In her book, Everyone here spoke sign language, she traces the ancestry of deaf people in the community. Her investigation reveals that the first inhabitants of the island were from England, and that they were users of some kind of sign language. Martha's Vineyard was known as the only bilingual community in which both hearing and deaf people used spoken English and sign language in all matters of everyday interaction (Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997). The second evidence comes from France, through a book written in 1779 by a deaf person called Pierre Desloges. Wilcox and Wilcox (1997) point out that Desloges had written his book, Observations of a deaf-mute, to defend his language against those who claimed that sign languages should be banished.

Scientifically, the language of the deaf received the "status" of a truly natural language in the 1960s, with Stokoe's (1960) study, in which he analysed and described the features of ASL, concluding that it is a language like any other (cited in Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997). Before that, (American) sign language users had been mostly looked at

from a pathological point of view[9] (Lane, 1984; Padden, 1996; Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997).

In order to trace the course of ASL history, it will be necessary to turn the focus of this overview in time and space, and start it in eighteenth-century Europe--where we find the most famous deaf educators, who disseminated their practices and influenced American deaf education, and consequently, the evolution of ASL. As with many other minority languages, it is not possible to talk about sign language development without mentioning the concern with education and religion. Lane (1984) notes that there are some forces that perpetuate minority languages, and among them are the clergy:

> they have proven so among the deaf as among the Indians. For the clergy are intent on religious education and they know, what lay authorities deny at every moment, that the only effective education takes place in the pupil's primary language. (p. 285)

The picture on deaf education in France shows us two main figures--Abbé de l'Epée and Jacob Rodrigues Pereire, and their opposed attitudes toward deafness--oralism and manualism. Manualism is a term used by those who advocate the use of sign language and any other manual communication in the teaching of deaf people. Oralism, on the other hand, means the training of speech and lip-reading.

Jacob Rodrigues Pereire was considered the main founder of the oralist tradition in the eighteenth century.[10] He taught many deaf children to speak, among them, Marie Marois, who was his first pupil, and Saboreoux de Fonteney, his most famous student. Although Pereire preached his method vicariously, he never discussed it explicitly (except by mentioning that sign language and the Spanish manual alphabet were, in

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[9] Although things have changed significantly since that time, this positioning still prevails in some deaf educator's practice nowadays.

[10] Although Pereire is considered so, Lane (1984), voicing Clerc, questions his methods and states that, in the sixteenth century, a monk called Pedro Ponce de Léon already trained deaf people to speak. Lane argues that the oralist tradition is full of plagiarism, and self-interest. For more details, see the discussion in chapter five.

some cases, both used). The method was a secret carried out through generations, and employed later by some of his disciples. After challenging Abbé de l'Epée repeatedly with the efficacy of *his* "oral method", Pereire finally changed (at the end of his career) his extremist position. There were two main reasons. One was due to Saboreoux's influence, who said that it was very painful for the deaf to execute speech. Of course, many other pupils had already shown this repugnance to speech. However, Pereire had an admiration and respect for Saboreoux in special. As for the second reason, Pereire was forbidden to apply his methods again since l'Epée won the "battle" between oralism and manualism during the Enlightenment in France (Lane, 1984, chap. 5).

The second, and the most important figure for the deaf was Abbé de l'Epée. Epée, a hearing person, had had as his main concern the education of deaf children who in that epoch were treated as savages and as unable to learn anything. They were excluded from society because, according to people from that time, they lacked the most important feature that distinguishes humans from other species: language. Epée was a person who dedicated his whole life to the education of deaf children.[11] He also trained some of his pupils, who later became his disciples. Among the most famous were Abbé Sicard (hearing), Jean Massieu (deaf) and Laurent Clerc (deaf). They worked according to Epée's method, which he called "methodical signs". This method consisted of invented signs for spoken words to be used in the French word order. Although Epée did not realise that sign language was a fully structured language, he consistently used the deaf's natural language as the medium of instruction. Epée was the one who asked the deaf *to teach him* their language, and "for this reason, the deaf

[11] For more details about Epée's trajectory in deaf education, see Lane (1984, chap. 4).

everywhere have always excused him for failing to see that the sign language of the French deaf community was a complete language..." (Lane, 1984, p. 63).

As the number of pupils grew, the same happened to the number of disciples and schools throughout Europe. In the early nineteenth century, as Lane (1984) points out, more important figures appear under the traditions of oralism and manualism in France. Among the figures of manualism, Roch-Ambroise Bébian was the one who left a very important contribution for deaf people, because he showed the limitations of Epée's method, and a "detailed development of a notation system for the recording of sign languages" (Branson & Miller, 1997, p. 176).

2.1.1. The development of ASL

While disciples from one method or another were spreading their practices in Europe in the nineteenth century, a Protestant from America, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, had travelled to Europe to learn the methods of teaching used to instruct deaf people. This decision to travel abroad, however, was due to Alice Cogswell--an eight-year-old deaf girl, who was the daughter of Thomas' friend and neighbour.[12] There were no schools for the deaf in the U.S., and only the rich were sent to hearing schools. Like Epée, Thomas was concerned with deaf peoples' instruction: "the great challenge was not to make Alice speak but to find a way to educate all the Alices of the new nation" (Lane, 1984, p. 182). Moreover, Bayton (1996) argues that Gallaudet's concern was also an attempt to restore deaf people to society in order to preach them the Gospel, since deafness was "described as an affliction that isolated the individual from the Christian community" (p. 15).

[12] Alice was the daughter of a rich man in Hartford, Connecticut--Dr. Mason Cosgwell. He and other important figures in Hartford decided to raise funds to send Gallaudet to Europe.

In Europe, Thomas visited many schools and became acquainted with the methods used by some disciples of both oralist and signing traditions. Initially, he was interested in learning how the method was adopted to teach deaf children to speak. However, in his first contacts with the Braidwood family[13], he was not confident about the method they were using to educate the deaf, because the Braidwoods did not reveal exactly how it was applied. Thomas found this behaviour too "strange and secretive", thus fearing for its future results. It was, then, Thomas' suspicion of the obscurity of the oralist method that led him to meet Abbé Sicard, and later, Laurent Clerc.[14] After many months in France, learning and taking classes in French Sign Language with Jean Massieu and Laurent Clerc, Thomas Gallaudet proposed that Clerc should go with him to America to open the first school for the deaf. He argued that Clerc would teach in a more native way, since he was deaf and had received the education from one of Epée's disciples. He would thus be able to more readily apply the method. Clerc accepted the invitation, and, after the contract was ready, they then travelled together to the United States.

In Hartford, Thomas and Clerc started a long campaign to raise funds in order to build the school. They travelled to many states in the U.S., arguing that it was important to have a residential school to congregate the deaf under the same roof, so that Thomas and Clerc could better guide their education. The school was inaugurated in 1817, and the name of it was, initially, *The Connecticut Asylum for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb.* Later, it was changed to *American Asylum at Hartford for the*

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[13] The Braidwood family spread oralism to many schools after Pereire's death (Lane, 1984).

[14] This story about Gallaudet's meeting with Clerc is a kind of myth that has been told and retold by deaf teachers as an "historical accident" that, undoubtedly, benefited deaf people. Bayton (1996) offers opposed views (oralist x manualist) on the matter. Nevertheless, he argues that "the reign of manualism ... was not an accident. It was, instead, a practice that was consonant with the culture of the day". Oralism, on the other hand, "was an outgrowth of fundamental changes in American culture after the Civil War" (p. 8).

Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. As time went by, the school received more pupils and educators, who spent months with Laurent Clerc to learn sign language and Epée's method. This process became routine, and, in some years' time, many other schools were opened throughout the U.S..

Surely the contact of Laurent Clerc with deaf Americans affected ASL development, but what about American Sign language use, since Clerc just knew French Sign Language and a little English? Lane (1984), voicing Clerc, describes the classes this way:

> I [Clerc] used French Sign Language amended for American practices; for example, I had no signs for various articles of clothing and food unknown in France and these I took from my pupils. We also used methodical signs amended for English. Most English words had a simple French translation with its methodical signs, but where that was not the case we had to invent one. The other means of communication in the classroom were written English and the French Manual Alphabet. (p. 226)

Researchers commonly agree that the formation of ASL, therefore, has its roots in the French Sign Language brought to the U.S. by Laurent Clerc in 1817. Furthermore, the language of deaf Americans has been modified with the influence of the indigenous local sign languages. This combination gradually expanded ASL vocabulary, forming, then, modern ASL (Bayton, 1996; Lane, 1984; Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997).

The schools, however, were the main vehicles for the development and dissemination of ASL and deaf people's culture. Edward Miner Gallaudet (the youngest son of Thomas), for instance, was the founder of the *National Deaf-Mute College* in 1864; today called *Gallaudet University.* While manualists were the pioneers in American deaf schools in the nineteenth century, there was no way to avoid the tradition of oralism. By the early nineteenth century in the U.S., two social reformers--Horace Mann and Samuel Gridley Howe--started to lead a new oralist campaign. They,

however, never thought of deaf people, nor were they interested in learning sign language. Their position in favour of oralism came out of a *misleading* notion they had about some results of speech in deaf children.[15] Howe appeared with an important character as his ally: Gardiner Greene Hubbard--a Boston millionaire whose deaf daughter, Mabel, was later to become Alexander Graham Bell's wife. This union between Howe and Bell, somehow, turned the course of ASL use towards the path of oralism, affecting, then, the lives of many deaf children in the U.S..

Lane (1984), however, argues that it was Alexander Graham Bell who had finally fortified the turn towards oralism in every school of the U.S. from the middle to the late nineteenth century. Bell was a person of great prestige in society, and his main concerns were eugenics[16] research and the education of the deaf. He, therefore, was known as the greatest leader of oralism in the U.S., though hated by most deaf people. Bell was the one who started strong campaigns to install the "pure oral method", whose central goal was the elimination of sign language use in schools in favour of the exclusive use of speech and lip-reading. His engagement in many conferences had great repercussion all over the world. Motivated by eugenist concerns, Bell urged the adoption of the pure oral method in order to prevent deaf people from gathering together. Changing the deaf social environment, that is, abolishing residential schools, was a way to avoid intermarriage--a phenomenon that according to Bell would cause a *variation* among the human species.[17]

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[15] Misleading in the sense that they did not take into account the conditions, such as hearing loss, materials adopted, and methods in which those children were trained to speak the local oral language.

[16] In 1883 Darwin's cousin Sir Francis Galton came up with this term. "Eugenicists hoped to improve society by selective breeding, which entailed, in turn, selective marriage, selective immigration, and selective sterilisation" (Lane, 1984, p. 353).

[17] Bell wrote about this concern in 1884 in his *Memoir upon the formation of the deaf variety of the human race.*

In this period, his main opponent was Edward M. Gallaudet, who favoured the use of the "combined method"[18], in which speech training could be tried but only for those who could profit from it (Lane, 1984). According to Bayton (1996), however, these movements, whether towards oralism or manualism, were not only due to *some individual's actions.* He argues that, although deafness is a physical phenomenon, it is also a "cultural construction that changes over time" (p. 10).

> Individuals always comprise multiple roles and points of view; their beliefs and attitudes inevitably are built from complex mosaics of various aspects of the self. ... Manualist teachers were Evangelical Protestants ... products of a Romantic era. ... Oralists, on the other hand, were of a generation frightened by growing cultural and linguistic diversity ... more concerned with the national community than the Christian one. (p. 9)

This attempt by some oralists to transform the deaf into hearing people undoubtedly affected ASL development--at least in a period in which the battle of oralism over manualism prevailed. The banishment of sign language from the schools in this period, somehow, affected the evolution of ASL. Deaf children were isolated communicatively; since the transmission of their language from the older to the younger was forbidden.[19] According to Lane (1984), therefore, twentieth-century deaf education and sign language have been strongly affected by early oralist movements that oppressed deaf people's language and culture.[20] The picture of deaf people's language and culture, however, has changed significantly. Nowadays, American researchers and educators stress the value and the richness of sign languages, and most schools in the

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[18] The combined method is the use of speech training for those deaf students who have the aptitude for it while emphasising sign language use as the medium of instruction (Lane, 1984, chap. 11). See also the different definitions educators give to this method in Bayton (1996, p. 69).

[19] This does not mean, however, that deaf children stopped using sign language (or pantomime) among them. What is important is that, for most deaf children, the school is the main place for them to acquire their language, since the majority of deaf children are born to hearing parents.

[20] Although Bayton (1996) agrees that the failures of oralism were greater for deaf people, since they were the ones who suffered their consequences during more than one hundred years, he points out that Lane "tends to attribute twentieth-century motives to nineteenth-century actors, missing the specificity of historical circumstances" (p. 167).

U.S. emphasise sign language use as the medium of instruction in the education of deaf people (Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997).

2.1.1. The development of LIBRAS

Like ASL, LIBRAS[21] also has its origins in French Sign Language (FSL). In 1855 a deaf Frenchman called Ernest Huet arrived in Brazil. Huet secured the support of Emperor Dom Pedro II to create the first school for the deaf in Brazil.[22] According to the historical records available (Reis, 1992), it is not clear why Dom Pedro II was interested in the foundation of a school for deaf people. Rocha points out that there are at least two possible explanations for his interest. One is that Dom Pedro II had brought Huet to Brazil to start deaf education because Princess Izabel would have a deaf child. Another explanation for his interest was due to his visit to Gallaudet University to discuss the possibility of opening a similar school in Brazil (p. 53).

Whatever his true interest was, in September of 1857 the "Instituto Nacional de Educação de Surdo" (INES) was founded in Rio de Janeiro, RJ, where it is still located today. During many years, this school was the reference centre for deaf people and their education. Although people from that time did not refer to LIBRAS as such, sign language[23] was privileged in the education of deaf children (Rocha, 1997). In addition, deaf people were also educated through written language and dactylology (Ciccone,

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[21] According to Rocha (1997), standard Brazilian Sign Language is referred to as LIBRAS. This denomination was established in assembly by members from FENEIS in October 1993, and it has been recognised by the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD), the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC), and by educators and scientists from the field. Brito (1993) points out the existence of a sign language used by Urubus-Kaapor Indians in the Amazon forest. LSKB (Kaapor Brazilian Sign Language), however, differs sociolinguistically and syntatically if compared to LIBRAS (p. 99).

[22] Although the first school for the deaf opened with Huet's arrival in Brazil, the first attempt was made in 1835, when the deputy Cornélio Ferreira presented to the Assembly a bill to set the goals of primary teachers in the education of deaf-dumb and blind people (Reis, 1992, p. 57).

[23] The sign language of the Brazilian deaf was usually referred to as mimics and gestual communication (Rocha, 1997, p. 30).

1996). After presenting the successful educational results of two deaf children, Huet started to train two other teachers, the La Peña brothers, to help him in the children's education.

In 1859, Huet started to have personal, economic and social difficulties, ending his career at the institute due to the serious marital conflicts he and his wife constantly had in public, and which compromised the school routine. After leaving the direction of the institute, Huet went to Mexico to meet his brother and to open a school there (Lane, 1984, p. 283). With his absence, other instructors occupied his place, among them, the renowned doctor Tobias Rabello Leite. Invited to be the dean of the institute in 1868, Leite was praised for his conduct in the administration of INES. He served as dean until his death in 1896 (Rocha, 1997; Reis, 1992). Even though he believed that the oral method was not essential for the education of deaf people (being therefore contrary to the thought of many people of his time), his understanding of the plight of deaf people was limited. Arguing about human intellectual capacity, he believed that only 15% of the congenital deaf had enough intelligence to become literate, while only 65% of the accidental deaf had the same intelligence of hearing people (Reis, 1992, citing Leite, 1881).

The famous congress of Milan in 1880[24] affected deaf educatonal practice towards oralism throughout the world. In Brazil, this idea was disseminated around the year 1911, when the new regulation of the Institute established the adoption of the pure oral method. It officially adopted it in 1957, as a consequence of INES superintendent Ana Rímoli de Faria Dória's decision in 1951. Yet, "gestural communication" was

[24] Although the congress gathered deaf people from everywhere, "the meeting was conceived and conducted as a brief rally by and for opponents of manual language" (Lane, 1984, p. 387). Prestigious scientists spoke in favour of the oral method, and the ideas discussed in the congress affected many deaf institutions throughout the world (Souza, 1998).

always used among deaf people. For this reason, Dória's strategy to avoid language contact was to separate the oldest deaf from the youngest in the school routine.

At the end of the 1970s, a professor called Ivete Vasconcelos introduced the Total Communication approach in Brazil due to influences from Gallaudet University. (Ciccone, 1996). According to Reis (1992), Brito (in a personal communication to Reis) says that total communication philosophy is "o último grito do oralismo que teima em não aceitar a língua de sinais" (p. 87). Although there were severe criticisms in relation to this philosophy, total communication sheds lights on a new debate: the re-thinking of deaf people's education in our society (Reis, 1992, p. 78).

The 1980s, then, were the time of a new view in relation to deaf people's language. Among many developments, the foundation of FENEIS (Federação Nacional de Educação e Integração de Surdos)[25] in 1987 by three deaf friends, Ana R. S. Campello, Fernando M. Valverde, and Antônio C. Abreu, represented a significant advance in favour of deaf people's rights. Presently, the institution's main concern is to work towards the official recognition of LIBRAS, and the training and accreditation of LIBRAS interpreters for deaf people:

> O status de Lingua e o seu reconhecimento pelas instâncias governamentais fazem parte de uma luta que se intensifica com a criação da FENEIS ... a fim de ter legislação que assegure sua utilização, sempre que necessário, em eventos sociais e pedagógicos referentes à pessoa surda. (Rocha, 1997, p. 30)[26]

This brief overview suggests how deaf people have been educationally approached during different periods of time in Brazil. Despite the alternations of the

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[25] Earlier known as "Federação Nacional de Educação e Integração dos Deficientes Auditivos" (FENEIDA). FENEIDA was initially created and managed by hearing people who dealt with deaf issues. In 1987, the name was changed to FENEIS, following protests from deaf people who wanted to have the right to take part in the administration of the institution (Souza, 1998, p. 89).

[26] Souza points out that up to 1996 only Minas Gerais, Maranhão, and Goiás have officially recognized LIBRAS. The senator Benedita da Silva (PT) has been proposing a bill making LIBRAS an official language in Brazil (1998, pp. 101-102).

many approaches to deaf people's education (sign language usage initially with Huet and later with Leite, oralism with Dória, total communication with Vasconcelos, and LIBRAS use at FENEIS by its founders); it is important to highlight that sign language has always been used among deaf people, even though its use was only allowed in schools in the past 14 or 15 years.

To close this section, I make mine Lane's (1984) words to summarise the main forces that perpetuate minority languages:

> The first ... is the very human desire for the society of others like oneself. The clergy as well can be a positive force: they have proven so among the deaf as among the Indians. For the clergy are intent on religious education and they know, what lay authorities deny at every moment, that the only effective education takes place in the pupil's primary language. A third force tending to sustain these languages, especially in the case of the deaf, is the great difficulty of mastering a second language--a difficulty compounded if the second language is utterly unrelated to one's own, and further compounded if it is orally based and yours is silent, manual. (p. 285)

2.2. Oral and sign languages: Misconceptions, differences, and similarities

All living things may have a system of communication. Research has shown, for example, the way bees communicate, the well developed communication system of dolphins and of many other mammals; but only humans have *a language* (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer & Harnish, 1995). Language is the most significant characteristic which distinguishes human beings from other species. According to Chomskyan linguists and cognitive scientists, all humans share a common universal grammar (UG). This means that "language is not any cultural invention, but the product of a special human instinct" (Pinker, 1995, p. 26). Language, then, is universal in the sense that it is an innate trait of people. Sharing Chomsky's assumptions, Pinker (1995) argues that the sign languages of the deaf are one of the examples of the universality of human's

instinct for language. "When deaf infants are raised by signing parents, they learn sign language in the same way that hearing infants learn spoken language" (p. 37). Thus, sign languages--though on a different channel than most other human languages (visual-gestural)--are full-fledged languages like any other.

The language of deaf people, however, have been ignored and misunderstood for a long time. Most people (including linguists) did not believe that the languages of the deaf had complex grammatical systems. Some assumed that it was merely the fingerspelling of words and sentences, and/or a set of gestures which interpret oral languages. Others believed that sign languages were limited, and that it was not possible to convey abstract ideas through them. Although contemporary thought has ascertained that sign languages are fully-structured natural human languages, such misconceptions still abound. Perhaps one reason might be the belief people have about non-hearing people being cognitively disabled. This is a distorted idea. Signing deaf people are able to think, and to communicate optimally through their sign languages. The only difference between them and the hearing world is that they are *deaf*, not disabled. Baynton (1996), for instance, argues that the term 'disabled' is not always comprehensible to hearing people. "It's far more common, however, for hearing people to think of deaf people as disabled people than to think of them as members of a cultural minority" (p. 158). However, all deaf children who were not exposed to sign language input will probably be cognitively impaired (Pinker, 1995, p. 277). In addition, language is such a natural human trait that ordinary people never think that it has a formal and complex structure. Most of us take for granted this wonderful "tool" which enables us to communicate and construct our social and symbolic worlds. In the case of sign language, this fact is even more widely ignored, because people hardly ever

accept the idea of a *non-spoken* language. In a discussion about *language and mode*[27], Wilcox and Wilcox (1997) argue that "[t]here is a long tradition of assuming that speech is the primary modality for representing language, and that therefore speech is synonymous with language" (p. 23).

Just to illustrate, Sacks (1990) points out that the idea that oral language has a structure became clear in 1660, with the Port-Royal grammar, but only in 1960 regarding sign languages. "Sign was not seen, even by signers, as a true language, with its own grammar, before then" (p. 76). This language was considered by their users as a pantomime and a gestural code. William C. Stokoe--the first linguist who analysed deaf people's language in a systematic way, that is, breaking the "traditions of describing signs as whole pictures signs" (Padden & Humphries, 1996, p. 79)--came up with a description of the structure of American Sign Language (ASL). In his study, he described three parameters which constitute the signs: *hand-shape, location,* and *movement.* (Brito, 1995; Ciccone, 1996; Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997). Some years later, Edward Klima and Ursula Bellugi (1979) carried out a thorough analysis of the grammar of ASL, highlighting a fourth parameter: *the orientation of the palm of the hand.*

According to Wilcox and Wilcox (1997), the detailed analysis of these parameters shows that sign and oral languages are alike because they are made up of compositional units which are combined to form larger units. Taking Chomsky's term *all* languages work as *discrete combinatorial systems*: "sentences and phrases are built out of words, words are built out of morphemes, and morphemes, in turn, are built out of phonemes" (Pinker, 1995, p. 162). Sign and oral languages differ, however, in the

[27] Wilcox and Wilcox (1997) paraphrase Baron (1981) by saying that these modes (modalities or channels) are "the spoken, written and signed channels" (p. 21).

way these combinations are built. While sign languages *basically* incorporate the units *simultaneously;* oral languages organise them *sequentially.*[28] The explanation for this primary difference is due to the channel of communication (acoustic or visual) on which each language relies (Brito, 1995; Quadros, 1997; Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997).

Another misconception hearing people have about sign languages is the belief that deaf people's language is the same all over the world. This, however, is not true. In the same way that Portuguese differs from English, for instance, Brazilian Sign Language (LIBRAS) differs from American Sign Language (ASL). Both languages--oral and sign--are, therefore, "specific to their respective linguistic communities and are mutually unintelligible" (Baynton, 1996, p. 108). However, whenever deaf people from different countries interact, they quickly "learn" the structure of another sign language. For example, if a Brazilian native-signer is exposed to the language of members of the American deaf community without knowing a word of American Sign Language, he/she will certainly not have trouble understanding the language. One explanation for this is that "there may be universals *in* signed languages" which may facilitate the comprehension among the users of different sign languages (Sacks, 1990, p. 114).[29] No matter the place (non) hearing people live, they will develop their own (sign/oral) language. ASL and LIBRAS, for instance, have evolved within a linguistic group, like all oral languages, over many years. Unlike speakers of oral languages, however, deaf people are in a unique position that makes their sociolinguistic situation more complex than might first appear to those who are unfamiliar with their condition. For example, nobody questions which language will be acquired by a hearing child born to hearing

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[28] In the early 1980s, some linguists "began to propose that the phonology of ASL does incorporate sequentiality" (Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997, p. 32). For more details, see also Klima & Bellugi (1979, pp. 35-38) and Brito (1995, pp. 29-36).

[29] Brito (1995) and Quadros (1997), for example, have described some similarities in the structure of ASL and LIBRAS.

parents. It might be any oral language. The same applies to a deaf child born to his/her deaf parents--they will use any sign language according to the community they belong to. Both children mentioned in the illustration above are exposed to their languages since their first years of life. The problem, however, is that most *deaf* children are born to *hearing* parents who are not signers. These deaf children are like "foreigners" in their own home--an unlikely situation for members of oral language communities (Baynton, 1996). Since these deaf children do not receive sign language input from their parents, the child and their caretakers develop a kind of gesticulation which enables them to communicate with each other. This gesticulation is like a pidgin:

> *Pidgins* come into being because they are needed during times of population upheaval, when normal mechanisms of language transmission are disrupted. No one sits down and decides to create a pidgin. It comes into being through the interaction of large numbers of people who speak several different languages and who have little reason or opportunity to learn another one of the many languages spoken in the contact situation. (Nichols, 1996, pp. 197-198)[30]

As was pointed out earlier, sign languages develop (see ASL and LIBRAS history and development in section 2.1 above) and are used by non-hearing people in all deaf communities, and, like all oral languages, they also present variations in their use. In the same way that the Portuguese language, for instance, shows regional, social, gender and age variation, so do sign languages (Baynton, 1996; Bergman, 1994; Ciccone, 1996; Brito, 1995; Sacks, 1990; Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997).

Although all languages share some common features, they also have their peculiarities. As mentioned above, most people think the deaf communicate only through the use of a manual alphabet. This is a misconception. Imagine, for example, how long it would take for the deaf to convey messages if they had to fingerspell each

[30] See also Pinker (1995, p. 33) and Akmajian et al. (1995, p. 280).

word in a conversation. However, dactylology (fingerspelling) plays an important role in sign languages. The deaf use it whenever they have to borrow words from oral languages, and when they are asked to spell proper names such as street and family names. Interestingly in this regard, from the very initial contact with hearing people, they give the person a sign--a kind of nickname--which will be the person's identification whenever reference to him/her is needed in interaction. This nickname is a sign which corresponds to a salient characteristic of the interlocutor. For example, if the individual has blue eyes, the sign might be connected to this trait (Brito, 1995; Quadros, 1997; Sacks, 1990; Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997). It can be argued that users of oral languages also make use of "nicknames" when referring to other people. Nevertheless, the meaning of this use is different in these two codes. It has a higher significance in deaf people's language--the "nickname" works to facilitate co-references in the talk, saving, thus, the signers' time. Somehow, this multidimensional language dictates the adaptations to be made, given the specificities of the visual-gestural channel of communication.

The hands are not the only vehicle used in sign languages to convey linguistic information. Deaf people also make extensive use of non-manual signals (NMSs) in their conversations, another important characteristic of spatial languages. Contrasting with the paralinguistic features observed in oral languages, facial expressions are *grammatical elements* that make up the structure of sign languages (Klima & Bellugi, 1979; Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997).[31] According to Brito (1995), Baker (1983) says that "as expressões não manuais ... prestam-se a dois papéis nas línguas de sinais: marcação de formas sintáticas e atuação como componente lexical" (p. 240).

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[31] Wilcox and Wilcox (1997) point out that NMSs are complex components in sign languages. They are used to convey significant information, and these components have to be carefully mastered if second language learners want to be fluent in a sign language (p. 40).

Finally, while one of the general principles of language is *arbitrariness*; a typical property of sign languages is their higher degree of *iconicity*. Most signs[32] retain a high degree of iconicity--the form of the sign is often directly connected to what it represents. For instance, the place (in the signer's body) where signs are performed (eyes, mouth, head, etc.) usually correspond to their semantic meaning. It is important to note, however, that arbitrariness and iconicity are not exclusive properties of oral and sign languages respectively. Dahl (1994), for instance, points out the existence of "*onomatopoetic words*" (*ping-pong, cuckoo, zig-zag)* found in some spoken languages. Regarding sign languages, Klima and Bellugi (1979) discuss the roles of the iconic and arbitrary faces of signs in ASL. They conclude that, despite the grammatical and historical pressures[33] over the representational aspect (iconicity) of the signs; "signs are more iconically transparent then are the words of spoken languages" (p. 26). Moreover, Brito (1995) argues that "a iconicidade é utilizada de forma convencional e sistemática...", banishing the notion most people have about sign languages being just pantomimic representations without any internal structure (p. 108).

So far, I have pointed out some characteristics of both oral and sign languages, showing that, despite their similarities, they are distinct forms of language with their own peculiarities. I have discussed the misconceptions most people still have in relation to the sign languages of the deaf. Although there is still rampant "ignorance" about sign languages, some linguists have shown how fully complex sign languages are. It is important to stress that the discussion above is just a brief survey, for the purposes of this study, of the growing literature on sign languages and sign language use.

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[32] *Sign* is an equivalent for the term *word* used in oral languages.
[33] For more details on the issue, see Klima and Bellugi (1979, chap. 1).

2.3. Ways to teach foreign/second languages: A discussion of the applicability of standard FLT methods to the teaching of sign languages

Central to researchers in the field of language teaching and learning is a concern about discovering and proposing the best ways to teach foreign and second languages.[34] Consequently, many methods and approaches[35] have been proposed, suggesting specific theoretical principles, and they were massively spread to be applied in foreign and second language teaching contexts (Brumfit, 1991; Brown, 1994b). In this sense, there is no dearth of "methodological proposals" telling teachers what they should do.[36] Clear descriptions of standard FLT methods are given in Brown (1994a, 1994b), Celce-Murcia (1991), Leffa (1988), and Richards and Rodgers (1982, 1986). They will, therefore, not be discussed here.

According to the specialised applied linguistic literature, these teaching methods are always undergoing reformations and new systematisation, having their ups

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[34] While some authors in the field of second language research use foreign language (FL) and second language (SL) terms as synonyms, there are others who prefer to make the distinction between the two. According to Stern (1983) "the distinction became popular after World War II in international organizations ... in order to meet nationalist susceptibilities in discussions on language questions" (p. 16). For the purposes of this study, this dichotomy will be necessary because of the complexity of the setting of this study. Allwright (1991) writes that "language teaching and learning take place in a setting where the target language is also the language of the local society [SL], or in a setting where the target language is not a language generally in use outside the classroom [FL]" (p. 167).

[35] Many researchers propose different definitions for these two terms. According to Leffa (1988), approach "é o termo mais abrangente e engloba os pressupostos teóricos acerca da língua" and method "tem uma abrangência mais restrita. ... Não trata dos pressupostos teóricos da aprendizagem de línguas mas de normas de *aplicação* [italics added] desses pressupostos" (p. 212). Brumfit (1991), for instance, raises a discussion regarding the problems in defining teaching methodologies. However, I do not intend to discuss these problems, and, as far as this work is concerned, the terms approach and method will be used interchangeably, meaning "(in language teaching) a way of teaching a language which is based on systematic principles and procedures, i.e., which is an application of views on how language is best taught and learned" (Richards, Platt & Platt, 1992, p. 228).

[36] Since "[f]or many centuries the goal of language teachers has been to find the right method", there is a tendency to believe that method X or Y would be *the* variable in language teaching classrooms (Richards, 1990, p. 35). Contrary to this conception, I believe that the quality of language teaching will not derive only from the method adopted since teaching is not a *static process*. Moreover, I agree with Larsen-Freeman (1991) when she argues that "prescriptions are subject to widely different interpretation and application by practioners" (pp. 120-121).

and downs caused by theoretical justifications and by the influences of the historical context (Brown, 1994a, 1994b; Brumfit, 1991; Leffa, 1988). However, in the last years, most practitioners have learned to interconnect all insightful contributions from different methods, becoming, then, more eclectic in their foreign language teaching practice. Brown (1994b) stresses that "the profession has at least reached the point of maturity where we recognise that the complexity of language learners in multiple worldwilde contexts demands an eclectic blend" (p. 74). In addition, Prabhu (1990) argues that *there is no best method* to be used in the teaching and learning of foreign languages due to the particularities of each context.

However, methods which were created to succeed specifically in the teaching of English, French or Portuguese as foreign languages, for instance, might work differently when transferred to the teaching of a spatial-visual language. Reconsidering this specific context is relevant since, as was mentioned before, the primary mode of communication (visual-gestural) is different from the aural-oral mode that researchers take for granted when dealing with foreign language teaching methods (FLTM). All sources of reference on the literature of FLTM are proposed based on learners of *oral* languages.[37] This fact might be due to the misconception most people usually have about deaf people's language being pantomimic representations of oral languages without any internal structure. Since sign languages have been marginalized for so long, the same happened with the contexts where they are used. Moreover, it might be somehow odd to consider a linguistic minority group as a prominent context in the field of *foreign* language teaching in the sense that sign languages are not considered a

[37] According to Wilcox and Wilcox (1997) the idea of applying teaching methods of oral languages into signed context is new. The very few studies published on this matter refer to ASLFL instruction as having "undergone tremendous progress in a relatively short period of time" (p. 81). However, in the case of LIBRAS, there are no references and/or studies on the application of FLTM into sign language teaching contexts. Maybe, because teaching LIBRASFL is still a very rare practice in our society.

language of wider communication, and therefore they would not need any attention in the discussion of FLT methods.

In this sense, it is useful to reflect about standard foreign language teaching methods, and see the extent to which they can be applied into sign language contexts, because educators of deaf people need an opportunity to learn sign languages in order to facilitate the education of deaf children. In this work, I will not discuss how FLTMs are considered nowadays regarding their failures or successes in the contexts of oral language teaching and learning; nor will I stress the weak or strong theoretical foundations each method may have. I am concerned with FLTMs only in the sense that they (or at least some of their theoretical principles) may contribute to foreign language teaching in signed settings. This discussion is not only relevant to LIBRASFLT, but also to FLT to deaf students in general. In a field trip to Porto Alegre, R.S, my supervisor, Dr. Pedro M. Garcez, and I visited the Concórdia bilingual school for the deaf, where deaf students are also taught EFL. Like hearing children, the deaf who take the 'vestibular' also need to take a FL examination. As far as I know, Letras courses are not preparing teachers to even consider this specific audience. So, then, what should be reconsidered for the application of such methods in this specific setting?[38]

> The extent to which these methods can be applied to the teaching of sign languages must be considered in relation to at least two specific characteristics of sign languages. One is that of their modality, meaning the "spoken, written and signed channels" for communication (Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997). According to Jacob (1996),
>
> > the simple fact of modality difference requires them [hearing learners] to enter a world to which they have been hitherto unexposed: the world of vision. This

[38] Although this reconsideration might be similar among sign languages in general, this discussion will refer to LIBRAS and ASL specifically.

> may seem an odd statement since everyone, barring those who do not have any vision, sees. However, *receiving a language visually* [italics added] is completely different from enjoying a painting or looking both ways before crossing a street. (p. 193)

Another aspect to consider is the fact that sign languages do not have a writing system.[39] In this sense, the four skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) as integrative elements available in the context of foreign language teaching and learning are reduced to only two. Then, in the teaching of LIBRASFL, for instance, we will have only speaking and listening skills, which I will refer to here as *signing* and *visual comprehension* respectively. Ingram (1981) suggests a curriculum for teaching ASL as a foreign/second language based on the principles of the communicative approach. Due to the lack of a writing system, he wonders if sign languages would take less time to be learned in comparison with oral ones. He concludes that, although there is no empirical evidence for such an assertion, "the availability of a written form reinforces second language acquisition and that the acquisition of a language such as ASL is actually hampered by the absence of a written form" (p. 88). If this statement is reasonable, then, there must be a way to compensate the students' learning in the two other skills. Somehow, methods whose primary emphasis is on the analysis of written texts are not of use in this case.

Since this thesis emphasises the description of a LIBRASFL teaching and learning context, the benefits to be gained from the field of FLT might be of great value if one does not want to spend time in *re*-discovering ways of teaching foreign languages. Now that these issues have been introduced, let us turn our focus to the

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[39] Wilcox and Wilcox (1997) say that some writing systems that were created by some linguists "are fairly recent inventions. They have not yet been used to create a literary tradition of written work in ASL" (p. 27). In a personal communication, Dr. Eulália Fernandes told me that Ronice M. Quadros is developing a writing system for LIBRAS.

context of investigation where we can see what the teaching and learning of LIBRASFL is like, and, therefore, eventually begin to see what might be better used (or adapted) in terms of FLTM.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTEXT OF INVESTIGATION

"It is quite natural. Some hear more pleasantly with the eyes than with the ears. I do".
(Gertrude Stein, cited in Wright, 1969)

In this chapter I present a description of the constitutive elements of a Brazilian Sign Language as a foreign language classroom interaction. This overview will serve as a basis for the understanding of the interactional events within this teaching and learning context; and, consequently, it will give contextual information to frame my research questions. The sections of this microethnographic report also show how this study was carried out in terms of data collection, organisation and analysis.

Initially, I present a brief narrative of how I entered this specific LIBRASFL context. Next, I provide some information about the setting where the focused LIBRASFL classroom interaction took place. After that, I briefly describe the physical environment and the usual teaching routine observed in these classes in order to provide a sense of what the teaching of LIBRASFL is like in this setting. The second section offers some information about the participants as a way to contextualize their interest and their views regarding LIBRAS. The description of these two sections will reveal part of the complexity of this setting if compared to most other foreign language teaching classrooms. For this reason, I would like to make a point beforehand that this social context cannot possibly be overlooked if one is to understand it. Finally, I review the methodology adopted for data collection (section 3.2), and for analysis (3.2.1).

3.1. Entering the field

When I decided to study issues related to deaf people, my initial interest was to know how deaf children received the content of instruction (such as Portuguese and English) in our educational system; and how the interaction between the participants in this context would be. At that moment, I met Marta[40]--a professor who has been working with deaf education for a long time. She informed me about the real situation of deaf people in our public schools in the state of Santa Catarina. Deaf children, she told me, are mainstreamed in the system together with hearing students. This means that, instead of adopting LIBRAS as the language of instruction, other codes and communicative improvisations (oral language, lip-reading, total communication, etc.) are employed to teach deaf children the disciplines in the curriculum.

During our conversation, then, she mentioned that a beginner's LIBRAS course for hearing people was being offered at the Federal University of Santa Catarina School of Education, and that it would be important for me to attend the classes. I decided to enrol immediately. At that point, I knew nothing about deaf people's language, history and culture. All I knew was what had been discussed in one of the disciplines in this master's program--that the sign language of deaf people is a fully structured natural language.

After having attended a number of classes in this LIBRASFL course, I found that such setting would be interesting to study. Yet, I did not comment formally to the participants at that moment, since no information was available on whether or not the course would be offered in the following semester: some financial problems had to be

[40] The names of participants in this study were changed in order to keep their privacy and guarantee the confidentiality of their personal identities.

overcome. Nevertheless, this problem was negotiated and solved among the students, who were highly interested in the continuity of the course.

My interest in observing this social interaction, then, stemmed from the contact with it that I had while attending these classes. I knew that describing this setting, where people (most of them teachers of deaf children) are learning LIBRAS as a foreign language, was a way to promote reflection on issues that, indirectly, would affect the teaching quality for deaf children. Directly, the investigation would clear up matters related to foreign language teaching. I was convinced that this 'bridge' between the field of deaf education and applied linguistics would show how much the latter could contribute to and learn from deaf-related studies.

3.1.1. The setting

This intercultural interaction between a deaf native-signer teacher and his hearing and non-hearing students took place at NUCLEIND--Núcleo de Investigação do Desenvolvimento Humano--at UFSC. NUCLEIND was founded in 1986 when a group of professors from different departments at this university decided to make a thorough investigation related to Special Education. However, the name NUCLEIND was adopted only in 1990. NUCLEIND's main concern is to investigate the relation between human development and learning among people with special educational needs. All activities developed at NUCLEIND are open to the local community and to researchers from different fields that are interested in issues of Special Education.

Many projects have been carried out by different groups at NUCLEIND. In one of these groups, the goal has been to investigate bilingual education for deaf people. The co-ordinator, Marta, was the person who opened the doors for me in this setting.

After she learned about my research intentions, she invited me to take part in this group together with other four colleagues. My participation in this group enabled me to have more contact with people who deal with deaf education. This was a great opportunity for me to learn more about the culture, the language and the history of deaf people in Brazil. All participants from this group were also enrolled in the LIBRASFL course. At this point, I was following Agar (1980) when he says that the ethnographer "need[s] to identify the right mediating group or person. ... a link from your immediate professional peer group to the appropriate mediating institution or individual" (p. 30).

The LIBRAS course which is the focus of the present study is thus a pioneering service offered by UFSC through its "Centro de Ciências da Educação". The main goal of this LIBRASFL course was to enable educators, parents and the local community to get acquainted with Brazilian Sign Language.

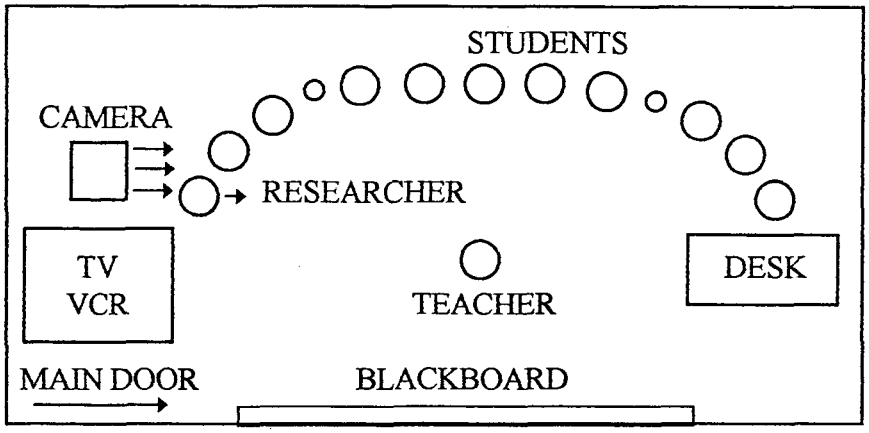
3.1.2. The classes

The first module was offered in the second semester of 1997. At that moment, as I mentioned earlier, I was not recording the classes. I was just a student interested in learning LIBRAS and in keeping contact with people from the field of deaf education. This facilitated my entry to collect the data for this study in the following semester. I was not seen as a stranger, since I had been a member of that group of students. The encounters recorded for this study, then, were part of the second module offered in the year of 1998.

The classes were held every Wednesday afternoon. Officially, the classes started at two and finished at five o'clock, but in practice almost half an hour was spent in the beginning and at the end of the classes for matters other than the teaching of

LIBRASFL. During each class, we had a coffee break that lasted at least thirty minutes. In sum, strictly speaking, we had about one hour and fifty minutes each class devoted to the teaching and learning of LIBRASFL.

As for the physical environment, the room was equipped with usual classroom tools. Blackboard, chalk, TV, VCR, and chairs were available in the setting. The chairs were distributed in a half-circle and the teacher's chair was placed in front of the students' chairs. The drawing below attempts to represent the lay-out of this room.



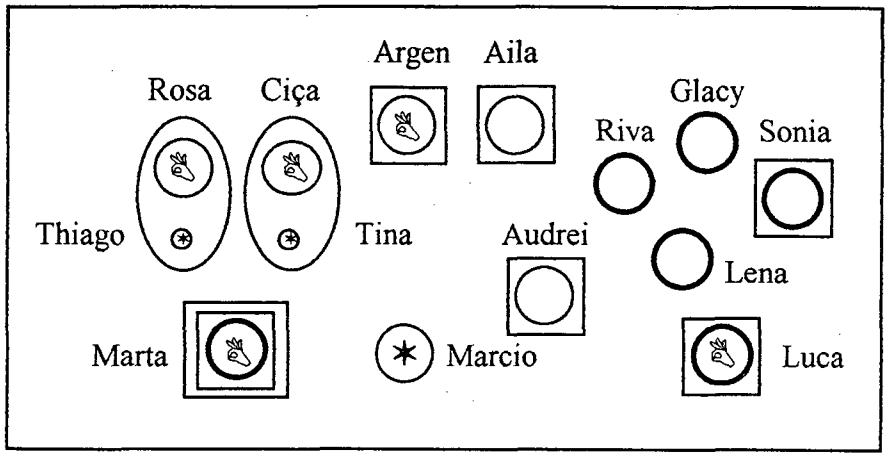
Regarding the teacher's practice, the classes were usually teacher-centred. Very few peer and group activities were carried out in the classes. The main goal of the course was to provide educators with an opportunity to learn LIBRAS through contact with a native-signer. The teaching of vocabulary--which was the main activity in these classes--was implemented through the use of flash cards containing written words in Portuguese (detailed description is given in chapter 4). The use of pictures, dramatisations, and oral language (Portuguese) were also ways to present vocabulary items. No other technique, and material, were used in these classes. The instructional activities employed by the deaf teacher, then, usually involved the use of redundant

material, such as presenting, reviewing and reinforcing vocabulary words. In addition, there was not any kind of evaluation in the classes. This lack of diversity of tasks, which somehow made the classes monotonous, was in a way linked to the teacher's inexperience and lack of training in the FLT profession.

3.1.3. The participants

The fourteen participants in this setting are being exposed to Brazilian sign language in a beginners' FL course. They are native speakers of two distinct codes. The teacher is a deaf native-signer of LIBRAS while the hearing students are native Brazilian Portuguese speakers. Although the two deaf children use sign language to communicate, they are not really competent in LIBRAS. These two children belong to a typical group among deaf people (the ones born to hearing parents who do not sign). Thus, their linguistic experience is different if compared with hearing children of the same age (Sacks, 1990).

The participants in this setting differ in terms of age, literacy, purposes, and LIBRAS competence. The chart in the next page gives an overview of the heterogeneity of the group.



Legend:

- deaf teacher
- deaf children
- hearing adults, competent in LIBRAS
- hearing adult, beginner in LIBRAS
- hearing adults, beginners in LIBRAS, work with deaf children
- hearing adults doing research on deaf issues
- co-ordinator of the LIBRASFL course
- mother and her deaf kid

The teacher in this classroom is about 45. Marcio comes from a town located some 120 km from Florianópolis every Wednesday to teach LIBRAS at NUCLEIND. He had no training to become a teacher, though he has already taught other groups before. He became deaf in an accident. When he was about one year and a half, he was hit by lightning. He is, therefore, what specialists call a *post-lingual* deaf--a person who has lost hearing after some exposure to oral language (Sacks, 1990, p. 6). During his infancy, he kept contact with deaf people and used sign language to communicate. When he was ten he was enrolled in a hearing school. Six years later, he went to INES (Instituto Nacional de Educação de Surdos) in Rio de Janeiro, where he acquired LIBRAS. Although he is deaf, he is able to speak Portuguese. He received training and

treatment with the help of his parents. This skill was developed with a lot of effort, and, according to Marcio, he had to practice many times to produce a single word in Portuguese. His speech, however, is not as clear as the speech of a hearing person.

Ciça is 26 years old and lives in a town located some 60 km from Florianópolis. She helps her husband grow tobacco. She has a seven-year-old deaf girl, and she is attending this course to be able to communicate with her daughter in LIBRAS. Ciça started to use sign language when she discovered her child's deafness. She learned LIBRAS with Marta at NUCLEIND. Tina--her daughter--was born deaf and her deafness was detected when she was about three years old. The girl receives educational support from Marta (at NUCLEIND) and she is mainstreamed in a public school with other hearing students in her hometown. From the information I have, Tina will not be promoted to the following grade at her school.

Like Ciça, Rosa, 32, also has a deaf child and she is taking the course to improve her sign language competence. She learned LIBRAS with a deaf instructor. She lives in Florianópolis and works at APAE. Her son, Thiago, is congenitally deaf. He is twelve years old and is a second grader at a public school.[41] He comes to this LIBRAS course with his mother and also receives educational support from Marta.

Aila is 41, and lives in Florianópolis. She is taking part in a deaf education project carried out at NUCLEIND. She learned LIBRAS in Curitiba with a deaf teacher, but decided to take the course to improve her competence in LIBRAS because of her deaf son (who is not a member of this group).

Glacy, 31, by contrast, does not have any deaf kids, but she is a teacher and has been dealing with deaf education for six years. She works at Iatel (Instituto de Audição

[41] It is important to emphasise that both children (Tina and Thiago) are not mentally or physically handicapped beyond their deafness (according to Marta's personal communication to me).

e Terapia da Linguagem)--a philanthropic institution in Florianópolis. This institution has followed an oralist tradition since its foundation. This policy has changed just in the past two years, and, at the moment, Iatel applies the bimodal method (the use of oral and sign language simultaneously).[42] Glacy is in her second semester of exposure to LIBRAS.

Lena, 32, and Riva 35, are also teachers of deaf children at Iatel. They have been working there for six years, and their only exposure to LIBRAS is in this course. They have used bimodalism and communicative improvisations (dramatisation, pictures, etc.) to instruct deaf children.

Luca is 27. She lives in Florianópolis. Luca is investigating Portuguese written texts produced by deaf children. She is fluent in LIBRAS and learned it by working and keeping contact with deaf people. Her purpose, however, in taking this LIBRASFL course, is to be accredited as a certified LIBRAS interpreter through this course which is recognised by FENEIS.[43]

Marta is 47 years old. She lives in Florianópolis and is the co-ordinator of a research project at NUCLEIND focusing on bilingual education for deaf children. She is also a mediator in this course. She has been dealing with deaf education for twenty years, and learned LIBRAS with deaf adults during this period. Her command of the target language is very good.

The twelfth participant is Sonia. She is taking the course because, like Aila, she is also one of the researchers working in the project about bilingual education co-

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[42] Although bimodalism is the simultaneous use of oral and sign language, it must be stressed that this does not mean that LIBRAS is actually being used, since the educators from Iatel mentioned in this work are learning LIBRAS for the first time. This term may confuse lay people. Educators might be using **gesture**, and they may think it is sign language.

[43] According to Luca, this certificate is important for hearing people who want to work as interpreters. Besides receiving a better salary in the profession, the interpreters who have the recognition from FENEIS will have more facility to get a job in the area.

ordinated by Marta. She has two years of exposure to LIBRAS, but is not able to keep a conversation with deaf people in LIBRAS.

Argen, a 30-year-old Argentinean woman, has taught Argentinean deaf children for almost five years. She knows Argentinean Sign Language, but her knowledge of LIBRAS is minimal, even though she can easily understand the deaf teacher. She was interested in this course because she wants to learn LIBRAS, and she is also carrying out research on deaf education.

The last participant of this classroom context is Audrei, 26, living for almost two years in Florianópolis. It was the first time that I was exposed to LIBRAS. Before that, I had never had any kind of contact with deaf people. The fact that I had been a student of the group in the first module helped me be accepted as a researcher in the setting. The participants, then, knew that my status in this setting was both of a student and of a researcher.

3.2. Data collection

This study relied on ethnographic research methods. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), the primary goal of ethnography is the "detailed description of the concrete experience of life within a particular culture and of social rules of patterns that constitute it" (p. 8). To understand *what was going on* when deaf and hearing people interacted in the LIBRASFL classroom, I investigated and analysed the local meaning perspectives of these participants in the context where the interaction occurred (Gumperz, 1986; Wardhaugh, 1992). The data for this study, then, were collected during the first semester of 1998 through video recordings and participant observational

fieldwork following the procedures proposed by Agar (1980), Erickson and Wilson (1982), and Erickson (1992).

Although Marta and the other participants granted informal permission for the recording of the encounters, I decided to obtain a formal permission from them. I acted in this way in order to have a specific opportunity to explain to them the purposes and the procedures of my study. For this reason, I prepared a written letter--officially recognised by the graduate program I was a student in--to request the participants' collaboration with my project. In that occasion, I also invited my supervisor, Dr. Pedro M. Garcez, to meet the participants and clear up any doubts they could have, and reinforce the importance of that interaction for sociolinguistc research purposes. In addition, the participants were informed of any risks of their being studied. However, I tried to maximise protection "by guaranteeing confidentiality of data, including keeping the identity of informants secret", and against any other predictable risks (Erickson & Wilson, 1982).

Before starting the recordings, I followed Erickson and Wilson's advice (1982) of "bringing the equipment into the setting for a few days before shooting [in order to] help[s] people get used to it" (p. 46). Since there were children in the classroom, I showed the camera to them one by one until they demonstrated disinterest in it. In the recordings of the encounters, I put the camera on a tripod during the entire time of each class, and I recorded a sequence of nine classes, amounting to a total of eighteen hours of recorded interaction.

3.2.1. Procedures for data analysis

Following data collection, these video tapes were analysed according the stages proposed by Erickson and Shultz (1981), Erickson (1992) and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983). In order to analyse the events, the tapes were viewed subsequently "at regular speed, without any stopping at any point along the way" (Erickson, 1992). During this stage, I just took notes on events that had really called my attention. Next, I searched for *major constituent parts of the event,* that is, the "boundaries" which usually contain the beginning, the middle, and the end of the events selected. To set these boundaries, I looked at the *social participation structure,* that is, who speaks what to whom, and at what moment of the interaction. For example, after selecting segments that contained the events of vocabulary teaching, I reviewed them entirely, taking into consideration the structures of participants' concerted actions in this interactional situation. As Erickson and Shultz (1981) put it, "these structures include ways of speaking, listening, getting the floor and holding it, and leading and following" (p. 148).

After the viewing of the activities, and the identification of the boundaries within the LIBRASFL teaching classes, I examined segments of major interest, trying to define verbal and non-verbal actions in topics (teaching of vocabulary, explanation, interruption, conversation, presentation of target language, etc.). During the next stage, I observed these selected segments carefully, playing the tape back and forth in order to capture as many details as possible to describe and transcribe the events. These events, however, were not analysed in isolation or "as a self-contained entity. ... Other phenomena (for example, cultural setting, speech situation, shared background assumptions) within which the event is embedded" were relevant to the analysis (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992, p. 3). Finally, the events were constantly revisited to relate

the equivalent fieldnotes to the activities selected from the tape. The resulting analysis is reported in the next chapter.

Having thus presented the context of investigation for the purposes of this study, let us now turn to the microethnographic description of the LIBRASFL classroom, and see what the interaction is like when the deaf teacher and his hearing and non-hearing students come together to teach and learn LIBRASFL.

CHAPTER 4

MICROETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF LIBRASFL CLASSROOM INTERACTION

> *"The deaf man is confined to the circumstances of light, distance, posture of body, both in himself and him he communicates with". (George Dalgarno, cited in Wright, 1969, p. 56)*

In this chapter I start the microethnographic description of participants' interaction in the LIBRASFL classes described generically in the previous chapter. The present chapter is divided into two main sections. Taking Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualization cues, I initially analyse the function of 'speech' within this classroom interaction, giving emphasis to the oral modality (section 4.1). After this discussion, I establish a typology for the functions that hold across these classes within three categories of speech usage. For these categories, I refer to the use of speech as elicited and spontaneous, having a subdivision in the latter, in which I mention the simultaneous use of sign and speech. After that, I describe the participants' interaction by pointing out their construction of three major interactive frames (section 4.2). Technical terms such as *frame, footing*, and *social participation structures* are defined as a way to ground the whole discussion. This study stresses the importance of the analysis of participation structures in this interaction, since both deaf and hearing participants have a "cross-modal" challenge to meet, given their different resources for communication.

4.1. From *etic* to *emic*[44]: Understanding the function of oral speech in these LIBRASFL teaching classes.

When I first encountered this setting where hearing and deaf people come together to learn Brazilian Sign Language, I was intrigued about the "chaotic" way interaction proceeded in some moments of the classes. In fact, I did not have a good understanding of what was going on in that situation, and although I was a participant and had a "general sense" of the happenings, I was very *etic*ally positioned in my overall judgements as an analyst. Yet, I knew this positioning was part of the process of microethnographic work (Garcez, 1997).[45] Through intensive observation and detailed analysis of the data, I would strive to approximate a nearest native view of the happenings, and, therefore, add a less *etic* view to the one I came in with. My first observations in these encounters were specifically directed to the occurrence of 'speech'[46] in such setting. I was deeply concerned about why in this sign language classroom oral speech was having a considerable presence over the course of the interaction.

The purpose of this section is to focus on the function of oral speech in this LIBRASFL teaching context; to show when and why participants utilise it. As was pointed out in chapter 3, this social interaction is among hearing people who are native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese and a deaf teacher whose first language is LIBRAS and whose second language is Brazilian Portuguese. In this interaction, therefore,

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[44] Kenneth Pike introduced the linguistic terms *etic* and *emic* in the 1950s, and these notions were later used by antrophologists, sociolinguists, and ethnographers. The words *etic* and *emic*, then, are being used as general terms to refer to an outside view (the stranger's point of view), and an inside view (the participants' point of view), respectively (Watson-Gegeo, 1997).

[45] Cavalcanti (1991), for example, points out that even analysts who are theorethically grounded to adopt an *emic* view in intercultural interactions sometimes have difficulty escaping from an ethnocentric view.

[46] I consider 'speech' as behaviour that is observable in both oral and sign language interaction. However, in this discussion, I am referring to the use of *oral* rather than *gestural* speech by the participants.

participants make use of Portuguese (spoken and written) in many occasions. However, there were some moments in this interaction in which the use of oral speech by participants had very specific purposes, and this is what I will show in this section.

Initially, I provide a description of the major issues related to the interactional situation of this LIBRASFL teaching and learning setting. Next, I will examine the function of speech in some occasions of teaching events within three main categories of speech usage. The first one is the use of spoken Portuguese by hearing students in an *elicited* way. In category two, I refer to the use of spoken Portuguese both by the deaf teacher and the hearing students in a *spontaneous* way. Finally, I analyse the moments in which speech and sign are being used *simultaneously* by the participants in some moments of the interaction. In the exploration of the functions of oral speech, speech passages isolated from a number of conversational exchanges were examined, and the examples derive from the main types of classroom tasks[47] the deaf teacher and his hearing students accomplish together during the classes.

In this analysis, I follow Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualization cues. He defines them as "constellations of surface features of message form [that] are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (p. 131). He argues that contextualization cues foreground background knowledge in conversational interaction, but, "unlike words that can be discussed out of context, the meanings of contextualization cues are implicit. ... Their signalling value depends on the participants' tacit awareness of their meaningfulness" (pp. 131-132). Formulaic expressions, lexical and syntactic choice, code-switching, non-verbal signs,

[47] The concept of *task* used here refers to the "activity which is designed to help achieve a particular learning goal" (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992, p. 373).

changes in pronunciation, etc., are all linguistic features "that contribute[s] to the signalling of contextual presuppositions" (p. 131). Procedures to identify these contextualization cues rely both on the paraphrasing of the happenings based on the fieldnotes and video-recordings, and on the transcription of isolated exchanges from the video-tapes.

4.1.1. The interactional situation where oral speech arises

In the beginning of a sunny and hot Wednesday afternoon, the hearing students were learning the vocabulary signs for some Brazilian cities, and, as interaction proceeded, Glacy, Lena, and Riva started to discuss the signs for other cities that were not included in the teachers' presentation. The students were highly involved in the discussion, and, as Marcio (the teacher) perceived their engagement in this spoken conversation, he then turned his back to the hearing students and started adding on the blackboard the name of other cities. During more or less one minute, the discussion between the hearing students went on, but this moment was *silence* for the teacher...

The situation above is a description of a very common scene in these LIBRASFL classes. Contrary to what happens in oral language classroom interaction, the fact that the deaf teacher has turned his back to the students makes him a non-listener to the talk in the interaction. This specific conversational interaction, then, presents a "cross-modal" challenge to the hearing students and the deaf teacher in relation to the sort of social participation structures that arise in this context (this aspect is discussed in detail in section 4.2).

For the deaf teacher, sight is the only channel available for him to receive language input. The eyes in this case are used not only to see, but also to "listen" to

people. In this LIBRASFL classes, the deaf teacher *has to look at* his students to be able to understand them and to be able to talk to them. Therefore, for focused teacher-student interaction to be possible here, both the deaf teacher and the hearing students have to be proxemically stationed in the classroom in a way that makes it possible for them to have access to the visual space of conversational interactions.[48]

Keeping in mind this crucial feature of the interaction under analysis, let us now see how these LIBRASFL classes are carried out by describing the materials, procedures, and classroom tasks in them. In these classes there are three main tasks that are accomplished by the students: vocabulary acquisition, visual comprehension (mainly of vocabulary signs), and dactylology training.

For the task of teaching vocabulary, the teacher makes use of white flash cards or a file containing words (verbs, nouns, and adjectives) written in Portuguese. There are some cases in which the deaf teacher replaces the flash cards for words written on the blackboard. The main goal of this activity is the presentation of vocabulary signs for equivalent Portuguese words; but at other times, flash cards are also used to review the recognition of lexicon that had been previously taught. Whatever the goal, signs are always taught in isolation, from Portuguese lists, and often only in their citation form, without demonstration of how they would be uttered in meaningful conversational discourse:

T08/ S02. E-1. T01-4. The teacher is presenting vocabulary by using a file containing Portuguese words. He points to each word and then presents the sign. The students repeat it in a choral repetition manner:

01 Marcio: [hoje=
[{ today}
02 Students: ={ today}
03 Marcio: [meio=
[{ half}

[48] Kendon (1990), in his "Spatial organization in social encounters: The F-formation system", examines how "people cooperate together to maintain a space between them" (p. 210). He argues that "when people space themselves for a joint activity ... they enter into a system of spatial-orientational behavior which can be conceived of as a unit of behavioral organization at the interactional level" (p. 236).

04 Students: {✍ half}

Practice by the hearing students is often accomplished through the repetition of these vocabulary signs in a choral repetition fashion (most of the times while speaking Portuguese simultaneously--a behaviour that I discuss in section 4.1.1.2.1).

The second main kind is visual comprehension. In this activity, the deaf teacher usually gives the students a worksheet containing some drawings, with the instructions for the exercise written in Portuguese at the top (see the appendix page 113). This task provides students with enough gestural information for them be able to mark the right option on the worksheet. As in the previously described task, LIBRAS input is reduced to decontextualized single vocabulary items, that is, the deaf teacher seldom contextualizes the information during the presentation or practice of vocabulary instruction.

Depending on the topic of the task (geometric figures, location of objects, directions, etc.), the hearing students may have to pay attention to a specific aspect of the target language which I call "the mirror effect". This is a sign-language-specific sort of challenge to FL learners. The mirror effect has to do with the signer's perspective vis-à-vis his/her signing interlocutor. When the signer refers to two different objects, for instance, the addressed recipient has to mentally invert the lateral position of the signs in order to get to the same perspective of the signer--what is right becomes left and vice versa:

T04/ S01. E-1. T01-8. Hearing students are choosing options in the worksheet, according to the teachers' commands:

01 **Marcio:** {✍ big rectangle small rectangle}
02 **Students:** ((*looking at the worksheet, but they don't find the figures in the same order*))
→ 03 **Lena:** viu como tem que espelhar (unintelligible)
04 **Rosa:** não tem? (unintelligible) ((*referring to the absence of the command from the teacher*))
05 **Marta:** TEM {✍ small rectangle and big rectangle} ((*telling the teacher what she found on the worksheet*))=
06 **Marcio:** =[{✍ big rectangle small rectangle ⌜não tem ((*agreeing with Marta*))
⌞{✍ there isn't}

07 Luca: =[a Marta mas (unintelligible) pequenininho depois grande (unintelligible)
08 Marcio: [espera (.) °agora o certo° (.) agora o certo
{ wait}
((*students looking at the teacher*))

Some hearing students in these LIBRASFL classes have difficulty processing this information, as their commentaries show: "how difficult?", "wait, if he did it this way, then it is the opposite". This is an ability hearing students have to develop when they are learning a spatial-visual language.

The third main task in this classroom interaction is dactylology training. Emphasis is placed both on comprehension and on production; and this skill is always taught through isolated drills. To practice it, the hearing students usually receive some flash cards containing different words written in Portuguese, and they perform the task in pair and groupwork. On the one hand, this task provides students with an opportunity to practice fingerspelling, since it requires motor co-ordination of the hands; and, on the other hand, this task is an opportunity for students to practice their ability to read fingerspelling.

Finally, tasks that emphasise the production of the target language, such as information gap interviewing and storytelling, are not recurrent in this setting. There were only two classes at the end of the course in which students had the opportunity to use LIBRAS communicatively. In one moment of the class, they asked each other a dozen personal questions (personal interview), and in the other they had the opportunity to use LIBRAS to tell a personal story. Nevertheless, these tasks were not repeated in other classes. Except for the teaching of vocabulary through flash cards, all other activities usually take place from the beginning to the end of the same class. Yet, the instruction in these classes consists of a vocabulary teaching approach, involving

teacher demonstration of signed lexical items followed by imitation on the part of the hearing students.

The three main classroom tasks I have described are all examples of moments within the LIBRASFL teaching event where speech arises. Segments were extracted from the video-recorded interaction in all three interactional tasks, so that a preliminary typology (for the whole table see page 68) can be established across this specific teaching and learning situation based on the three main tasks performed in class.

4.1.1.1. Elicited speech

Feedback on active visual comprehension

In many instances, oral speech is used by the hearing students in checking their visual comprehension. This is considered here as (explicitly or implicitly) elicited action, depending, however, on the deaf teacher's goal in the task. Very commonly, oral speech is used as elicited behaviour during those moments in which the deaf teacher is (1) reviewing target language vocabulary items, and (2) practising the fingerspelling of words:

T04/ S03. E-1. T01-14. The deaf teacher is reviewing some vocabulary items, and the hearing students have to provide the answer in Portuguese for the elicited signs. Students try many guesses, but Glacy (turn 13) provides the correct answer:

	01 Marcio:	{✍ shorts} ((*looking at Glacy*))
→	**02 Riva:**	°saia°=
→	**03 Audrei:**	=[saia
→	**04 Glacy:**	=[SAIA
→	**05 Sonia:**	=[saia
	06 Marcio:	((*performing the sign for the word mentioned*)) {✍ mini-skirt}
	07 Riva:	=saia é °assim°?=
→	**08 Sonia:**	[bermuda?=
→	**09 Aila:**	[SHOrts?=
→	**10 Glacy:**	[SHOrts?=
→	**11 Riva:**	=bermuda ou °shorts°=
	12 Marcio:	((*nodding his head, in disagreement with the answer, and performing the sign again*)) {✍ mini-skirt}
→	**13 Glacy:**	minisaia ((*waving her hand to call the teacher's attention, since she perceives he was not looking at her*)) <minisaia> MIni-saia
	14 Marcio:	{✍ ok}

T03/ S02. E-1. T01-3. The hearing students are watching a video in LIBRAS. Marcio signs the word "clean" and waits for the translation in Portuguese. Riva says the correct word:

→ **01 Riva:** limpo?
02 Marcio: {  clean} ((*confirming*))
03 Riva: ah:::

T04/ S02. E-1. T01-5. The teacher starts signing some words (verbs and nouns) in LIBRAS, and the students have to say it in Portuguese:

01 Marcio: {  to suffer, to suffer, to suffer }
→ **02 Audrei:** ((*waving hands to call the teacher's attention to provide the answer for the sign*)) fome?
03 Marcio: {  no} ((*looking at students to see if somebody responds*))
→ **04 Aila:** °sofrer?°
05 Marcio: {  yes}

T02/ S06. E-1. T05-9. Riva is fingerspelling a word (turn 05), and Marta and Glacy say it in Portuguese (turns 06 and 08):

→ **05 Riva:** /e/s/p/e/r/t/o/=
→ **06 Marta:** =[esperto ((*the teacher does not see Marta saying it*))=
07 Marcio: =[o que é? ((*looking at Glacy*))
(4.0) ((*Marcio is looking at the other students near Glacy, and Riva repeats the sign to Glacy*)) *y))*
→ **08 Glacy:** ã:: agora deu prá pegar ((*responding to the teacher*)) esPErto=
09 Marcio: =é:: (.) PEga (.) PREsta atenção (.) vê se confere o que outros falaram (.) PREsta atenção

As mentioned above, the function of elicited oral speech by participants is to check and confirm students' visual comprehension of vocabulary or fingerspelling. Therefore, the use of oral speech (in the sense pointed out here) is made only by the hearing students, and never by the teacher. Although this specific task requires the use of oral speech by participants, it is worth noting in this regard that the teacher will only have access to one student's response at a time (since he cannot read everybody's lips at the same time). In T04/S03, then, we can see that Marcio's reference to check the students is based on Glacy's response (line 04), even though all the other students also suggested the same word (saia). His visual contact with Glacy, then, serves as a reference for him to provide his OK (or not) for the whole class regarding this exercise.

4.1.1.2. Spontaneous speech

Explanation

In this case, oral speech is used by the deaf teacher to explain (1) the mechanics of a task, (2) the meaning of signs, (3) the correct pronunciation, and (4) the correct use of some LIBRAS vocabulary items:

T02/ S05. E-1. T01. The teacher is showing the flash cards for some hearing students to fingerspell the respective sign item for the whole group:

→ **01 Marcio:** VÊ o que tá falando (.) vê o que ELA falando

T02/ S06. E-1. T01-9. Within the same task the teacher explains to two hearing students what they are supposed to do:

→ **01 Marcio:** ((*pointing to Glacy and Riva*)) °vocês duas° (.) vê se pega o QUE ela falou (.) vocês duas (.) PEga o quê que ela falou tá? ela vai falá agora (unintelligible)
02 Riva: /e/s/p/e/r=
03 Glacy: =calma calma=
04 Lena: =°calma° (unintelligible)
05 Riva: /e/s/p/e/r/t/o/=
06 Marta: =[esperto ((*the teacher does not see Marta saying it*))=
07 Marcio: =[o que é? ((*looking at Glacy*))
(4.0) ((*Marcio is looking at the other students near Glacy, and then Riva repeats the sign to Glacy*))
08 Glacy: ã:: agora deu prá pegar ((*answering to the teacher*)) esPErto=
→ **09 Marcio:** =é:: (.) PEga (.) PREsta atenção (.) vê se confere o que outros falaram (.) PREsta atenção

T02/ S08. E-1. T02-12. During presentation of vocabulary through flash cards, the teacher explains (turn 08) the meaning of the sign:

02 Marcio: {✍ carpentry}
03 Marta: ((*waves her hand to call his attention*)) PÉra aí ó ô (.) PÉRA ai.(.) {✍ carpenter}é carpin-TEI-RO?=
04 Glacy: =é::=
05 Marcio: ((*confirms by nodding affirmatively*))
06 Marta: =AÍ É: [LUGAR=
{✍ place}
07 Glacy: [profissão=
→ **08 Marcio:** =°tudo igual° (.) é CARpintaria=
09 Marta: = o LUgar=
10 Marcio: =é:=
11 Marta: =LU-gar onde o CARPINTEIro trabalha=
12 Marcio: =é:: ((*nodding his head*))

T02/ S04. E-1. T01-9. During the review of some signs, the hearing students are in doubt about the correct sign for "custom" and "white". The teacher explains the difference in pronunciation between the two:

01 Audrei: cosTUme? cos-tu-me? ((*asking the teacher*))=
02 Glacy: =[aqui ((*showing the sign, but the teacher is not seeing her*))
03 Marcio: =[{✍ custom} ((*answering the question*))
(.)
04 Audrei: e BRANco? °branco é o quê?°((*the teacher is not looking at Audrei, then Marta answers Audrei's question*))=
05 Marta: =branco é aqui {✍white} ((*performing the sign and looking at the teacher as if she were asking for confirmation*))=
06 Audrei: =ah: é o B=
07 Glacy: =é o B aqui=
→ **08 Marcio:** =[BRÃco (.) BRÃco °é pouco mais devagar° [brã:[co ((*speaking to Marta*))
{✍white white} {✍ white}
09 Riva: [°é mais devagar°=

T04/ S05. E-1. T01-5. During the presentation of some interrogative pronouns in LIBRAS, there was a doubt about the use of the pronoun "why" because there are two different signs for the same meaning. Old people use one sign, while young people use another, but they mean the same thing. Turns (3) and (5) show the teacher explaining the correct use of the interrogative pronoun "why" nowadays:

01 **Audrei:** ((*performing a sentence with the sign "why" and asking the teacher if the use is correct*)) {  why did she go away?}

02 **Marcio:** ((*repeating the sentence as an agreement*)) {  right, "why did she go away?"}

(.)

→ 03 **Marcio:** (unintelligible) ((*repeating the same sentence in LIBRAS and in Portuguese performing the sign "why" in one way*)) [POr que foi embora? POr quê? antes=

{  Why did she go away? Why? before}

04 **Audrei:** =arrãm=

→ 05 **Marcio:** =[hoje ((*performing the sign "why" in another way*)) [porquê vai embora?=

{ today} { why did she go away?}

Another example of this kind of explanation appears when the teacher is presenting the signs for the names of Brazilian states. He provides the sign for Santa Catarina, which is iconic to the drawing of the Hercílio Luz bridge in Florianópolis. Glacy asks if she can also fingerspell the letters S and C to sign the name of the state. To explain the correct present use, the teachers says "this old, of the past" meaning that it is not used anymore. Here the teacher speaks in Portuguese to explain contemporary LIBRAS use.

Besides showing the lack of communicative target language use in these LIBRAFL classrooms, the segments analysed above reveal the teacher's extensive use of oral speech--to explain the mechanics of a task (T02/ S05, T02/ S06), the meaning of signs (T02/ S08), the correct pronunciation (T02/ S04), and the correct use of LIBRAS items (T04/ S05). The segments also make evident the participants' notion of what a "language" is. Even though all of them have been dealing with deaf people's education, and therefore, keeping contact with deaf people; it is not easy for these hearing participants to scape from the wrong view that "oral speech is synonymous with language" (Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997).

Attention Calling

Another example of spontaneous speech by the teacher is found in those moments he wants to call the hearing students' attention during the classes. He makes use of voice to do that, though there are moments in which other strategies are also employed by him. These include hand-waving, turning the lights on and off, snapping his fingers, and touching people.[49] However, voice appears to have a more immediate response from the whole group, as in the following case:

It is the beginning of the class. The class is noisy. Students are talking to each other about the end of the LIBRASFL course. The teacher shows Riva and Rosa his calendar and the students' attendance records, and the other students talk about other matters for a long time. To call everybody's attention, Marcio (the teacher) turns the light on and off twice, saying "✍ look at me". Some students look at him, and others keep talking. Then, Marcio walks from one side to another as he observes the students' distraction. He stops, looks at everybody and shushes them, and immediately signs "✍ you look television". However, four students continue their conversation, and Marcio snaps his fingers and shushes again. At this moment, he makes use of voice to explain the mechanics of the task:

T03/ S01. E-1. T01.

→ **01 Marcio:** vô botá °um° intérprete ((*pointing to the video*)) (.) olha só (.) {✍ take a look (.) interpreter (.) without sound (.) see if you understand (.)} ENTEnde (.) {✍ look}

In this illustration, we can observe that Marcio's use of oral speech more readily captures the students' attention for engagement in the following task. Although he initially makes use of LIBRAS, it is only with the use of voice that he gets his audience

[49] Mather (1996) analyses interpersonal involvement strategies in the reading of texts by teachers to deaf and hard-of-hearing children. In her article, she discusses the functions of "visual and tactile regulators" during a conversation among deaf people (p. 116).

to pay attention to him. In this sense, oral speech becomes a powerful tool for the deaf teacher to manage his classes. Again, the vignette and the transcribed segment reveal, respectively, that the attempt of the deaf teacher to call the hearing students' attention through oral speech is in a way linked to the notion they have about sign language (also pointed out in the previous functions). Moreover, the segments demonstrate how the oral modality is culturally inherent to the behaviour of the hearing students--be the oral speech used to *produce* language or to *receive* it.

Correction

In a third example, both the deaf teacher and the hearing students make use of oral speech to correct one another. The corrections made by the teacher refer to (1) the pronunciation of the signs, or (2) the fingerspelling of words. The corrections made by the hearing students are made in relation to (1) the meaning of vocabulary signs (this happens because there are some hearing students that have daily contact with deaf people and know many vocabulary items), and (2) the meaning of words in Portuguese:

T02/ S01. E-1. T01-9. During a dactylology task, the deaf teacher shows the correct way to fingerspell the word "jealousy":

	01 Marcio:	{  you }
		(.)
	02 Rosa:	/c/i/ú/[m/e/
	03 Thiago:	[{  wait (.) again}=
	04 Rosa:	=/c/i/ú/m/e/ ((*the teacher looks at Thiago to see if he understood*))
		(.)
→	**05 Marcio:**	você quando faz ((*showing the way she fingerspells the accent of the word*)) acento asSIM=
	06 Rosa:	=não bo::ta acen::to?=
→	**07 Marcio:**	=assim prá baixo (.) de cima prá bai[xo
	08 Rosa:	[a:: é prá baixo?=
→	**09 Marcio:**	=é

T02/ S02. E-1. T01-5. Lena is fingerspelling a word for Thiago. However, when she does the first letter of the word (which is "c"), the teacher corrects her by saying that she does not need to turn the hand to do the handshape "c":

→	**01 Marcio:**	você faz assim com a mão ((*showing with his hand*))
	02 Lena:	a::é:[:
→	**03 Marcio:**	[não precisa=
	04 Lena:	=eu faço prá mim=
→	**05 Marcio:**	=não assim

T02/ S08. E-1. T01-12. The teacher is presenting vocabulary signs through flash cards, and is corrected by Marta:

01 **Marta:** PÔ:: cara (.) QUAL é:: cara (unintelligible) cada NO:::me ((*the teacher is not looking at her when she says this*))
02 **Marcio:** {  carpentry}
→ 03 **Marta:** ((*waves her hand to call his attention*)) PÉra aí ó ô (.) PÉRA aí.(.) {  carpenter}é carpin-TEI-RO?=
04 **Glacy:** =é::=
05 **Marcio:** ((*confirms by nodding affirmatively*))
→ 06 **Marta:** =AÍ É [LUGAR=
{ place}
07 **Glacy:** [profissão=
08 **Marcio:** =°tudo igual° (.) é CARpintaria=
09 **Marta:** = o LUgar=
10 **Marcio:** =é:=
11 **Marta:** =LU-gar onde o CARPINTEIro trabalha=
12 **Marcio:** =é:: ((*nodding his head*))

T08/ S01. E-1. T01-7. The teacher is presenting some vocabulary item and Marta (turn 06) corrects him:
01 **Marcio:** agora SÉrie como é? como é [primeira segunda terceira quarta quinta sexta[sétima oitava=
{ first second third fourth fifth sixth seventh eight}
02 **Marta:** [SÉtima OItava=
03 **Marcio:** =só?=
04 **Marta:** =só=
05 **Marcio:** =[colegial? primeiro segundo terceiro
{  first second third}
(.)
→ 06 **Marta:** segundo GRAU (.) NÃO É colegial que fala mais
07 **Marcio:** ah:: segundo grau

The use of oral speech--by both the deaf teacher (T02/ S01) and the hearing students (T02/S08; T08/S01)--in moments of correction shows the attempt of these participants in recognising LIBRAS as a truly natural language, which in turn, is strongly connected to their notion of sign language. The use of oral speech by the hearing students is analysed here as an impulsive (and natural) behaviour due to the hearing linguistic community they belong to.

In addition to the analysis drawn above, when Marta (turn 6) says "AÍ É LUGAR" (T02/ S08) to correct the teacher's signing for the word carpentry, it can be noted an asymmetric relationship between the hearing students and the deaf teacher in this classroom interaction (issues of asymmetry are thoroughly discussed in section 4.2.1)

Clarification

Whenever the hearing students want clarification about target language vocabulary item pronunciation or about the meaning of signs, they speak in Portuguese:

T02/ S03. E-1. T01-6. The teacher is reviewing the words students were fingerspelling at the beginning of the task by showing the respective signs in LIBRAS. Since the signs for "lucky" and "boring" are similar signs in LIBRAS, I ask for clarification (turn 04):

01 Marcio: {misfortune} ((*showing the flash card with this word*))
02 Audrei: e sorte? sorte? SORte? ((*looking at the teacher*))
03 Marcio: {sorry?}
04 Audrei: s/o/r/t/e
05 Marcio: {lucky} ((*answering the students' question*))=
→ **06 Audrei:** =mas aqui não é CHA-to?
((*the teacher shows that the difference between these two signs is marked by facial expression*))

T02/ S04. E-1. T01-13. During the teaching of vocabulary through flash cards, the teacher shows the sign for the word "white". Audrei remembers that this sign is the same of "custom", then, she asks for clarification (turn 04) but the teacher is not looking at her. After Audrei's doubt has been cleared up, Rosa does the sign for the word "course" (turn 10), but the teacher corrects her by performing the right sign. In turn 12, she finally asks for clarification about the way this sign is articulated:

01 Audrei: cosTUme? cos-tu-me? ((*asking the teacher*))=
02 Glacy: =[aqui ((*showing the sign, but the teacher is not seeing her*))
03 Marcio: =[{custom} ((*answering the question*))
(.)
→ **04 Audrei:** e BRANco? °branco é o quê?° ((*the teacher is not looking at Audrei, then Marta answers Audrei's question*))=
05 Marta: =branco é aqui ((*performing the sign and looking at the teacher, asking for confirmation*))=
06 Audrei: =ah: é o B=
07 Glacy: =é o B aqui=
08 Marcio: =[BRÃco (.) BRÃco °é pouco mais devagar° [brã:[co ((*confirming to Marta*))
{white white} {white}
09 Riva: [°é mais devagar°=
→ **10 Rosa:** =cur::so? ((*performing the sign for the teacher as an attempt for the right handshape of the sign*))=
11 Marcio: =[CURso curso= ((*correcting Rosa*))
{course course}
→ **12 Rosa:** =curso também °assim?° {course}
13 Marcio: =e TREinar {same} ((*speaking to Rosa*))

T04/ S05. E-1. T01-15. The teacher is presenting some interrogative pronouns in LIBRAS, and Audrei is in doubt about the use of the pronoun "why" because there are two different signs for the same item. The difference lies in the fact that, in the past, deaf people used it in one way; nowadays, the sign is performed differently. Yet, they are semantically the same:

01 Audrei: ((*performing a sentence with the sign "why" and asking the teacher if the use is correct*)) {why did she go away?}
02 Marcio: ((*repeating the sentence in agreement*)) {right, "why did she go away?"}
(.)
03 Marcio: (unintelligible) ((*repeating the same sentence in LIBRAS and in Portuguese performing the sign "why" in one way*)) [POrquê foi embora? Porquê? antes=
{Why did she go away? Why? before}
04 Audrei: =arrãm=

05 **Marcio:** =[hoje ((*performing the sign "why" in another way*))[porquê vai embora?=
{ today} { why did she go away?}

→ 06 **Audrei:** =e porque não usar[por[quê?
{ why?}

07 **Marcio:** [pois é ((*demonstrating doubt in his facial expression*))=

08 **Rosa:** =pois é ele não SABE ((*the teacher is not looking at Rosa, but he immediately turns his body to her and asks her the difference in the use of the two signs for "why". Rosa says she has no idea*))

09 **Marcio:** ((*looking at Marta and performing one of the signs to her*))=

10 **Marta:** antes? { before}=

11 **Marcio:** =é

12 **Marta:** =há muito tempo atrás? { a long time ago}
(.)

13 **Marcio:** { yes}=

14 **Marta:** =ah SIM [houve uma mudança na língua

15 **Audrei:** [<como é que é como é que é?>ah tá se usava UM agora...

As the analysis of the transcribed segments demonstrates, the hearing students do not hesitate to use oral speech when asking the teacher for clarification about LIBRAS vocabulary pronunciation (T04/ S05), and about the meaning of the signs (T02/S03). Similarly to the analysis of the conversational functions of oral speech so far interpreted, this specific setting becomes more complex in the sense that it shows a subtle line between target versus community language and sign versus oral modality use. It is difficult, then, to discuss about the *oral modality* these participants extensively use, without considering LIBRASFL and Portuguese language since all these issues are present in this context. The participants thus face two challenges in this respect: to learn a *foreign language* and to overcome a *different channel for communication* (spatio-visual).

Comprehension Checking

Another use of speech by the deaf teacher and the hearing students consists of those moments they know the information (in the case vocabulary signs for the hearing

students and Portuguese words for the deaf teacher), and they check their comprehension by asking each other for confirmation:

T02/ S04. E-1. T01-19. During the teaching of vocabulary items, Marta (turn 05) and Rosa (turn 17) speak in Portuguese to check their comprehension about the articulation of the signs:

01 Audrei: cosTUme? cos-tu-me? ((*asking the teacher*))=
02 Glacy: =[aqui ((*showing the sign, but the teacher is not seeing her*)) {custom}
03 Marcio: =[{custom} ((*answering the question*))
(.)
04 Audrei: e BRANco? °branco é o quê?° ((*the teacher is not looking at Audrei, then Marta answers Audrei's question*))=
→ **05 Marta:** =branco é aqui {white} ((*performing the sign and looking at the teacher, asking for confirmation*))=
06 Audrei: =ah: é o B=
07 Glacy: =é o B aqui=
08 Marcio: =[BRÃco (.) BRÃco °é pouco mais devagar° [brã:[co ((*confirming to Marta*))
[{white white} [{white}
09 Riva: [°é mais devagar°=
10 Rosa: =cur::so ((*performing the sign for the teacher as an attempt for the right handshape of the sign*))=
11 Marcio: =[CURSo curso ((*correcting Rosa*))=
[{course course}
12 Rosa: =curso também °assim?° {course}
13 Teacher: =e TREinar {same} ((*speaking to Rosa*))=
14 Rosa: =[treina::r [curso
[{train course}
15 Marta: [treinar é o curso
16 Audrei: =[ah:::=
17 Riva: =[ah::=
→ **18 Rosa:** =[branco é o b (.) é o b (.) branco é o [B (.) ((*speaking to the teacher*))
[{white b} [{b}
19 Marcio: ((*confirms it by showing the sign again*)) é

T02/ S08. E-1. T13-18. During the discussion about the correct sign for "carpentry", Marta (turn 14) checks her understanding of it:

13 Audrei: <como é que diz> esse sinal de lugar (.) tem que fazê isso aqui? ((*looking at Marta and performing the sign for place*)) {place}
→ **14 Marta:** {carpentry} é só assim né? num é? ((*signing for Audrei, and asking for the teachers' confirmation*))
15 Marcio: ((*nods affirmatively*))
16 Audrei: <e se quiser falar carpinTEIRO>?
17 Marta: [HOMEM CARPINTEIRO
[{carpenter}
18 Riva: [HOMEM CARPINTEIRO
[{carpenter}

T03/ S03. E-1. T01-4. During a visual comprehension exercise, one hearing student asks the sign for "slum", and the deaf teacher repeats this word twice (turn 04), checking his understanding of the previous turn (turn 03):

01 Riva: ((*waving her hand to call the teacher's attention*)) Onde é que ela fala ali: FAvela?=
02 Marcio: =lá no RIO=
03 Riva: =não não (.) qual é o GES-TO de faVELA?=
→ **04 Marcio:** =GEsto? GEsto? ((*putting the top of both hands together and inclining the hands from one side to another*)) {slum} (unintelligible) casa de madeira casa tórta

T08/ S01. E-1. T01-7. The teacher is presenting vocabulary. To do this, he uses a file containing Portuguese words. He points to each word and then presents the sign. The students repeat it (choral repetition). In the middle of the task, however, the teacher is in doubt about the way school grades are called nowadays in Portuguese, and he asks Marta for confirmation:

→ **01 Marcio:** agora a SÉrie como é? como é?[primeira segunda terceira quarta quinta sexta[sétima oitava=
{ first second third fourth fifth sixth seventh eight}
02 Marta: [SÉtima OItava=
03 Marcio: =só?=
04 Marta: =só=
→ **05 Marcio:** =colegial?[primeiro segundo terceiro ((*looking at Marta*))
{ first second third}
(.)
06 Marta: segundo GRAU (.) NÃO É colegial que fala mais
07 Marcio: ah:: segundo grau

The examination of the examples of both "clarification" and "comprehension checking" reveals a very subtle difference in their interpretation if one looks just at the linguistic surface of the discourse. However, by looking at both examples and observing contextualization cues such as changes in pronunciation (intonation, loudness), and non-verbal signals (facial expressions, gestures) *in each situation* these exchanges appear, the difference in these two conversational functions becomes more readily apparent. For instance, when the teacher provides students with the sign for "lucky" (page 58, T02/ S03. E-1. T03), Audrei (turn 4) says "mas aqui não é CHA-to?", thus signalling to the teacher through facial expression her doubt in regard to the similarities of these two signs, and, therefore, her need for *clarification*. He, then, points out that the difference is in facial expression. This contrasts with Marta's utterance (page 60, T02/ S08. E-1. T14), when she says "carpinteiro é só assim né? num é?" suggesting that she already knows the sign, but wants to check her comprehension. The teacher, then, confirms her understanding. Yet, both "clarification" and "comprehension checking" will be followed by the teacher's oral speech feedback--be it an explanation or a confirmation.

Vocabulary elicitation

The hearing students elicit vocabulary through the use of spoken Portuguese. This is a very typical function due to the fact that the classes are highly centred on LIBRAS vocabulary teaching and learning:

T02/ S01. E-1. T04-11. During the dactilology task, one student wants to know the sign for "jealousy":

04 Rosa: =/c/i/ú/m/e/ ((*the teacher looks to Thiago to see if he understood*))
(.)
05 Marcio: você quando faz ((*showing the way she fingerspells the accent of the word*)) acento asSIM=
06 Rosa: =não BO::ta acen::to?=
07 Marcio: =assim prá baixo (.) de cima prá bai[xo
08 Rosa: [ah:: é prá baixo?=
09 Marcio =é
((*Rosa repeats the fingerspelling and asks for the teacher who is looking at her*))
→ **10 Rosa:** como fala (.) como FAla por sinal?=
11 Marcio: ={ jealousy}

T02/ S07. E-1. T01-2. Marta is waving her hand to call the teacher's attention to elicit vocabulary:

→ **01 Marta:** como é que é me-TI-do?
02 Marcio: { nosy}

T02/ S09. E-1. T01-3. Riva is eliciting vocabulary, interrupting the visual comprehension exercise:

→ **01 Riva:** como é que é descon-fi-a-do?
02 Marcio: { distrustful}
03 Riva: assim? ((*performing the sign*))

T04/ S04. E-1. T01-2. Teacher reviewing the signs for animals (lion, hippo, giraffe, etc.). Aila asks the sign for the word "animals":

→ **01 Aila:** animais?
02 Marcio: { animals}

Although the use of oral speech by participants to elicit vocabulary is very typical in these LIBRASFL classes, students do not have another way to do it--since they are looking for the sign word they do not know yet. Contrary to few occasions in which the hearing students ask, for instance, a whole question as in T02/ S09 "como é que é desconfiado?"; most of the times, they just say the word they are looking for as in T04/ S04 "animais?". The teacher, in turn, usually knows that they want the LIBRAS respective sign item. Although this function of vocabulary eliciting is observable in any oral foreign language teaching contexts, I want to stress again that participants in this setting have the challenge of the different modality they are being exposed to.

Translation

Spoken Portuguese is also used in these classes when hearing students translate the deaf teacher's talk:

T04/ S01. E-1. T01-14. The hearing students are choosing options in the worksheet according to the teachers' commands. As students do not find the information they need, the deaf teacher repeats it and Riva translates his talk (turns 10 and 12):

01	**Marcio:**	{  big rectangle, small rectangle}
02	**Students:**	((*looking at the worksheet, but they don't find the figures in the same order*))
03	**Lena:**	viu como tem que espelhar (unintelligible)
04	**Rosa:**	não tem (unintelligible)
05	**Marta:**	TEM {  small rectangle and big rectangle} ((*telling the teacher what she found on the worksheet*))=
06	**Marcio:**	=[{  big rectangle small rectangle ⌈não tem ((*agreeing with Marta*)) ⌊{ it's not there}
07	**Luca:**	=[a Marta mas (unintelligible) pequenininho depois grande (unintelligible)
08	**Marcio:**	⌈espera (.) °agora o certo° (.) agora o certo ⌊{  wait}
		((*students looking at the teacher*))
09	**Marcio:**	{  small rectangle}=
→ **10**	**Riva:**	=peque:no=
11	**Marcio:**	{  big rectangle}=
→ **12**	**Riva:**	=gra:nde (.)°agora sim°
13	**Luca:**	[AH::::
14	**Rosa:**	[AH::

Although there are many times in which some hearing students translate the teachers' talk because some other students do not understand what he is saying, in this segment, Riva's translation is done as a way to avoid more confusion in the teacher's signing (if we take a look at turn 8, we will observe that the teacher re-starts his signing, and through the use of oral speech he says "espera (.) agora o certo (.) agora o certo", signalling that his signing was wrong in the previous turns.

Before turning to the discussion of the simultaneous use of speech and sign, a remark must be made in relation to the typology of speech usage so far developed. Let us take a moment to reflect about the situation of an English course for beginners in Brazil. A reflection on whether the use of oral speech is different or similar in this

LIBRASFL setting when compared to the use of Portuguese in EFL classes is quite appropriate. It is true that teachers who deal with FLT, especially for beginners, will not be surprised if a student does not ask for clarification in the target language (whatever the foreign language), or even if the teacher himself gives an explanation in Portuguese. Therefore, we can say that the functions of speech discussed in this study might be the same in both contexts of foreign language instruction.

However, in this typology of speech usage I have stressed the "modality" for communication (oralization)--an aspect that is not questioned in EFL teaching settings due to the fact that both target and non-target languages *are oral languages*. Therefore, I consider Portuguese use in these LIBRASFL classes to be different from Portuguese use in EFL classes in two main respects. First, when most hearing people think about language, a very common notion is to assume "that speech is the primary modality for representing language, and that therefore speech is synonymous with language" (Wilcox & Wilcox, 1997, p. 23). Second, and maybe as a consequence of this first notion, the monopoly of the oral modality is an inherent aspect to the culture of the hearing community. In this sense, I see that in most moments of these participants' interaction, the use of oral speech is related to an impulsive behaviour of hearing people in face-to-face interaction. Therefore, learning a language in which the medium is visual-gestural becomes a difficult process for them in the sense that they tend to rely on their oral, natural medium for communication.

4.1.1.2.1. Simultaneous use of speech and sign

A very typical behaviour in these LIBRASFL classes is the simultaneous use of speech and sign by the participants. Evidence of this use appears in the many exchanges

shown under "spontaneous speech" (section 4.1.1.2), and with the same functions. Yet, I observed that the simultaneous use by participants has a hidden meaning. It called my attention that the deaf teacher used both languages simultaneously during some moments of the interaction. By looking closer at the data, the analysis revealed that this behaviour is somehow connected to the socio-cultural context, and to the physical context of the participants.

Regarding the socio-cultural context, the simultaneous use of sign and speech is strongly rooted in the participants' sense of what LIBRAS is. Most of them come from a tradition which stresses the oralization of deaf people. In this sense, these people have developed a kind of practice that privileges the use of voice when dealing with deaf people. A very significant example of this behaviour was observed in one conversational exchange, in which the deaf teacher asks one student to shut up while signing, and the student apologises and says that she always forgets to close her mouth:

T06/ S01. E-1. T01-5. The teacher is showing his file with some words written in Portuguese, and he points to Glacy for her to sign the verb "to read":

01 Glacy: o quê? ler?=
→ **02 Marcio:** ={ shut up}=
03 Riva: ={ yes, she speaks all the time} ((*looking at the teacher*)) =
04 Glacy: =AH:: esqueci ((*smiling and talking to the teacher*)) { sorry, I forgot}=
→ **05 Marcio:** ={ you speak all the time, close the mouth}

During the classes, I asked some hearing students why they used voice and sign together, and one of them replied: "I don't know, I am so used to it! I think it is a habit". These illustrations go hand in hand with the information I have from informal questionnaires--most of the hearing students follow an oral tradition in their professional practice of dealing with deaf people's education.

As for the physical context, I refer to the physical space configuration in which the hearing and the deaf participants are arranged in this LIBRASFL classroom.

Depending on the number of students and their configuration in the classroom, their visual field might be affected. As was said previously, visual contact is crucial for participants to understand each other in any situation of sign language use. If this aspect is not preserved, the students as well as the teacher might recur to the use of voice to integrate and/or to have the interlocutors' attention in the conversational interaction. It is very common for the hearing and deaf students in these classes to ask the teacher to sign again in order for them to see what the deaf teacher has previously said. Commentaries like "please, turn over here, we didn't see you", and "do it again because I did not see what you said" are always heard.

Finally, I would like to stress that, although the simultaneous use of sign and speech might be seen as a communicative resource afforded by the modality, I have observed and pointed out that participants' use of bimodalism is related to their tradition in the education of deaf people as well as to their conception of language. Yet, it is important to emphasise that many researchers have argued against bimodal use, since the oral language will affect the structure of the sign language and vice versa (Botelho, 1998; Brito, 1993; Quadros, 1997; Sacks, 1990).

The table in the following page summarises the findings of the functions of oral speech in this interaction:

Categories of 'speech' usage	Conversational Function	DT	HSs	Occurrences
Elicited speech	Feedback on active visual vocabulary comprehension		x	19
	Feedback on active finger-spelling comprehension		x	24
Spontaneous speech	Explanation	x		12
	Attention calling	x		09
	Correction	x	x	13
	Clarification		x	12
	Comprehension checking	x	x	16
	Vocabulary elicitation		x	28
	Translation	x		08
Simultaneous use of sign and speech (same functions of spontaneous speech) ⟶ socio-cultural context physical context				

* DT and HSs stand for deaf teacher and hearing students, respectively.

In the table above, I point out the number of occurrences of each conversational function of oral speech usage, distinguishing the uses made by the deaf teacher and the hearing students. Although the occurrences listed here come from the observation of only the five classes from which all the segments of analysis were taken, I see that these numbers are significant to show the degree of typicality of each function so far discussed.

Since this typology has stressed the function of speech (oralization)--therefore one modality--during deaf and hearing people's classroom interaction, I do not relate the number of occurrences in those moments in which sign and speech are being used simultaneously. In addition, I believe that bimodalism is an issue that deserves detailed discussion in its own right.

4.2. Three major interactional frames

In the previous section I analysed the function of speech during beginners LIBRASFL classroom interaction, emphasising the oral modality as an inherent aspect to the culture of the hearing community the students come from. This analysis gives us a better view of the interactional teaching event as a whole, leading us, then, to the delineation of three major frames in this interaction. Before describing them, let me first clarify some concepts for this discussion.

According to Tannen and Wallat (1993), there are two senses for the term "frame". The first one refers to "knowledge structures", much as the term "schema" in fields such as cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence, for instance. In the second sense (the notion to be adopted in this study), they mention the "interactive 'frame of interpretation' which characterises the work of anthropologists and sociologists" such as Bateson, Goffman and Gumperz (p. 59). For Tannen and Wallat, "the interactive notion of frame, then, refers to a sense of what activity is being engaged in, how speakers mean what they say" (p. 60).

In order to have a general sense of what happens in face-to-face interaction, Gumperz (1982) suggests that "conversationalists ... rely on indirect inferences which build on background assumptions about context, interactive goals and interpersonal relations to derive frames in terms of which they can interpret what is going on" (p. 2). Paraphrasing the work of Bateson, Tannen and Wallat (1993, p. 60) explain that the notion of interactive frame says that "a monkey needs to know whether a bite from another monkey is intended within *the frame of play or the frame of fighting* [italics added] ". "People", they argue, "are continually confronted with the same interpretative

task. In order to comprehend any utterance, a listener (and a speaker) must know within which frame it is intended" (p. 60).

Since frames are defined as structures of expectation "emerg[ing] in and ... constituted by verbal and non-verbal interaction", interactants might constantly add new information as their discourse proceeds. The notion of frame, then, becomes a dynamic and complex process within face-to-face interaction (Tannen & Wallat, 1993, p. 60). To characterise this dynamic process of constructing, sustaining and shifting frames, Goffman (1981) introduces the term *footing* "to describe how, at the same time that participants frame events, they negotiate the interpersonal relationships, or 'alignments,' that constitute those events" (Tannen & Wallat, 1993, p. 60).

In any face-to-face interaction, participants cue their footings in the way utterances are produced by speakers and attended to by listeners. Therefore, I will also look at *social participation structures* (Philips, 1976; Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Shultz, Florio & Erickson, 1982; Au & Mason; 1983). Instrumental to showing how frames are constituted in this interaction, participation structures are also relevant in this study since their analysis reveals that participants do not make equal use of resources to the construction of conversational discourse due to the difference in their channel of communication of cultural choice: oral-aural versus visual-gestural.

Erickson and Shultz (1981) refer to participation structures as the "mutual rights and obligations of interactants [that] are continually amenable to subtle readjustment and redistribution into configurations of concerted action. ... These structures include ways of speaking, listening, getting the floor and holding it, and leading and following" (p. 148). In a pioneering study, for instance, Philips (1976) emphasises the importance

of the "listener" in face-to-face interaction. She observes an interaction between Anglos and Indians, demonstrating that there are cultural aspects in the regulation of these interlocutors' talk. In order to know who might speak and when, it is necessary to know the cultural conventions that govern each interactional situation. Besides the important role listeners play in face-to-face interactions, Shultz, Florio, and Erickson (1982) also argue that participants develop "schemas" to accomplish different interactional activities.[50]

Having discussed crucial concepts for this study, let us turn to the analysis of the three major interactional teaching frames found in this LIBRASFL classroom interaction.

4.2.1. The social encounter: An "informal teaching" frame

The first of the three major frames in this social encounter involves the interface between the participants' constitution of the target language (LIBRASFL) and their engagement in accomplishing their institutional goal (the teaching and learning of the target language). Goffman (1972) defines a social encounter as the "social organization of shared current orientation ... involv[ing] an organized interplay of acts of some kind" (p. 64). I use the word "informal" to classify this interactional frame due to the symmetrical relationship observed among the participants. Although the teacher is expected to be in a more powerful position in most educational settings, "[with] higher institutional status and play[ing] the role of expert, the controller of knowledge" (Tyler, 1995, p. 131), the relationship between the hearing students and the deaf teacher in this

[50] In their study, they developed a typology of participation structures accomplished at home (at dinner table talk) and at school (math lessons), pointing out the allocation of participants' interactional rights and obligations in these two different interactional activities. For more details, see Shultz, Florio, and Erickson (1982, pp. 24-34).

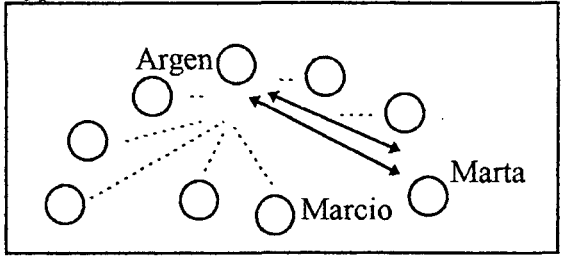
specific setting is flexible in terms of allocation of turns in the conversational discourse. This symmetry can be observed in the following segments:

T07/ S01. E-1. T01-6. The teacher is showing students a text taken from the newspaper. He asks Marta to read it while Ciça translates into LIBRAS what Marta is reading in Portuguese. However, the students are in doubt if Ciça is performing signed Portuguese or LIBRAS as they start a discussion on the issue:

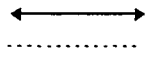
→ **01 Argen:** ((*looking at Marta*)) °mas° tem que falar como se fosse um surdo ou palavra por palavra?=
→ **02 Rosa:** =a:: pois é aí:: é que tá
((*all students start to laugh, and the teacher stops the activity and looks at them*))
→ **03 Riva:** =muito boa pergunta muito boa pergunta=
→ **04 Rosa:** =Português sinalizado é DIFEren::te=
→ **05 Marta:** =((*looking at the teacher*)) {✍ she asked is this LIBRAS or signed Portuguese?}=
→ **06 Marcio:** =não {✍ LIBRAS LIBRAS forget Portuguese}=

Although the commentaries (turns 01, 02, 03, 04) display doubts these students want to clarify--therefore a typical behaviour in foreign language classrooms--it has to be noted that this talk lasts *twelve* minutes (for the whole transcript, see appendix page 110) without any disapproval from Marcio. The hearing students in this setting have the freedom do discuss topics whenever they find it appropriate, and during the time they need, without the teacher's monitoring. As can be observed in turn 06, the only contribution Marcio gives to the discussion in this segment is a warning to forget the Portuguese language when speaking LIBRAS. Marcio's remark, however, is not enough for students to overcome the problem of Portuguese interference in LIBRAS use. They did not receive enough LIBRAS input to perform in this specific activity; and, as their conversation demonstrates, the students feel frustrated when trying to engage in it. The time scheduled for this activity, then, is overtly used to solve this problem. In this segment, we have the following configuration in the participation structure:

Type I



Lay-out: T07/ S01. E-1. T01-6



At the same time Argen's alignment with Marta triggers all this discussion, her alignment also makes Marcio understand that "something is going on". Goffman (1981) argues that

> in managing the accessibility of an encounter both its participants and its bystanders will rely heavily on sight, not sound. ... (Imagine a deaf person bystanding a conversation; would he not be able to glean considerable social information from what he could see?). (p. 132)

Note, however, that although the teacher is ratified in the interaction as a participant, there is no way to ascertain how much he understood from the students' commentaries in turns 01, 02, 03 and 04. In this sense, Marcio's participation is limited due to his deafness. This conversational exchange, then, has Argen and Marta as primary speakers and attenders, and the teacher and the other students as secondary attenders.

Following Shultz, Florio and Erickson's (1982) study, I use the term primary speaker to refer to a participant who produces the talk, and the term primary attender to refer to the addressee who becomes the primary speaker next. Secondary attenders, on the other hand, do not contribute actively to the ongoing talk, but they must pay attention in order not to interrupt the speaker. The type of participation structure found in this segment, then, has a "single conversational 'floor', with only some of the persons present participating in the 'floor' as primary speakers and attenders. Others present participate minimally as secondary attenders. There is little overlapping talk" (p. 24).

In addition to the students' freedom to manage the conversational floor without the teacher's interference in keeping the control of the class group, the students also

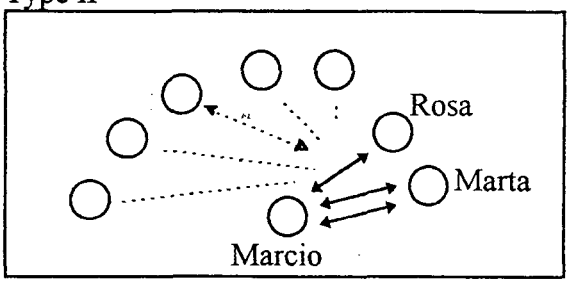
have the freedom to interfere in the proceeding of the ongoing activity, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

T07/ S01. E-1. T23-36. The students are discussing how they can overcome the problem of Portuguese interference over LIBRAS usage in the story telling activity:

	23 Marta:	((*calling the teacher*)) {✍ she said ((*referring to Argen*)) that reading the text in Portuguese=
		= is not LIBRAS because we hear the order of the words in Portuguese. It would be better if one
		= student read the text while you sign it in LIBRAS}=
	24 Marcio:	=[como vou ouvir? sou surdo=
		[{✍ How will I hear? I am deaf}
→	**25 Audrei:**	=mas ele pode ler junto com a Marta=
→	**26 Marta:**	=((*talking to teacher*)){✍ you can read all the text first, and say it in LIBRAS afterwards}=
	27 Marcio:	=((*talking to Ciça*)) [Marta falou você fala cada palavra (.) tem que ler tudo junto
		[{✍ she said you speak each word you have to read all together}
	((*5 seconds of multiply overlapping turns omitted*))	
	28 Glacy:	((*talking to Ciça*)) como é que você falaria para a sua filha?=
→	**29 Marcio:**	=((*talking to Marta*)) {✍ too difficult} ((*as if he is giving up the task*))=
→	**30 Marta:**	=NÃO É difi-cil não é difícil [é diferente=
→	**31 Riva:**	[não é difícil=
→	**32 Marcio:**	=não tá fácil de entenDÊ=
→	**33 Rosa:**	=NÃO é (.) [nós temos que entendê como que fala LIBRAS em LIBRAS e não em =
		[{✍ we have to understand how to speak LIBRAS in LIBRAS and not in}
		=[Português e nós sempre pensamos em Português=
		[{✍ Portuguese and we always think in Portuguese}
	34 Glacy:	=[é::=
	35 Lena:	=[é::=
	36 Rosa:	=e essa é a dificuldade=

In turns 25, 26, 30, 31 and 33, it is clear the participants are putting a great deal of effort in to make the activity proposed by the teacher work successfully. Everybody gives suggestions to the teacher, trying to convince him (who is almost giving up the task, turns 29 and 32) to proceed with the exercise. In this example, students show high involvement and motivation to engage in the task. As can be observed, students are actively directing the task, and for this second type of participation observed here, we have the configuration in the next page:

Type II



Lay-out: T07/ S01. E-1. T23-36

primary speaker and attender
secondary speaker
secondary attender

In this exchange, we have Marcio, Rosa, and Marta as primary speakers and attenders. The other students are secondary attenders. For this type of participation structure, there is only one conversational "floor". While the floor is being used by Rosa, Marta, and Marcio, the other students (secondary attenders) also say something linked to these speakers/attenders' utterances. As Shultz, Florio and Erickson (1982) put it

> these comments by secondary attenders (who then become secondary speakers) are 'tossed' out into the group conversation and do not require a response or acknowledgement from anyone. The primary conversation among primary speakers and attenders continues as comments are being made by secondary speaker/attender. (p. 26)

As the participants' discussion proceeds, it can be observed that the hearing students are still trying to find a solution for the activity of LIBRAS storytelling in turn 51 (the following segment). In addition to revealing her symmetric relationship with Marcio, Rosa's suggestions also expose the teacher's inexperience in the profession. In turn, this segment also reveals participants' joint action in the co-construction of the target language teaching and learning context:

T07/ S01. E-1. T48-58.

48 Rosa: =como é que quando nós fizemos aquele exercício de contar uma estória funCIONOU=
49 Glacy: =[é:::=
50 Lena: =[é::=
→ **51 Rosa:** =((*looking at the teacher*))[antes quando nós contamos uma estória cada um a sua funcionou=
{ before when each one of us told a story it worked out}

=[por quê? por que nós sabíamos o quê que nós queríamos contar né? então=
{ why? because we knew what we wanted to tell, right? then }

=[você ((*pointing to the teacher*)) distribui no computador BONITO ((*laughs*)) textos=
{ you ((*pointing to the teacher*)) distribute in the computer beautiful short texts=

=[pequenos prá cada um (.) daí a gente lê e passa=
{ for each student (.) then we read and transfer it}=

→ **52 Marta:** =((*looking at the teacher*)) EU TENHO uma suges-TÃO POsso?=
53 Marcio: ={ sure}=
54 Marta: =[eu tenho lá na minha sala vários livros de estórias prá crianças (.) nós podíamos LER a estória=
{ I've got there in my room many storybooks for children (.) we could read the story}

=[e falar para as colegas essa estórias=
{ and tell our classmates these stories}

55 Glacy: =[ótimo=
56 Rosa: =[é::=
57 Marcio: =[ok=
58 Marta: =tá bom eu vou pegar lá

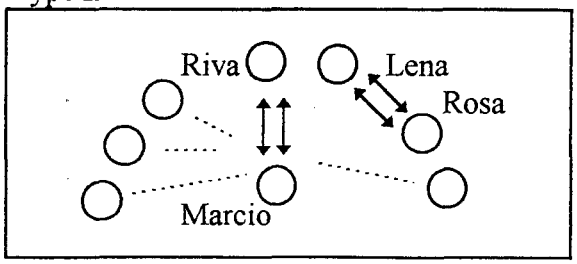
As I have pointed out earlier (sections 3.1.2 and 4.1), Marcio's teaching in these classes strongly emphasises LIBRAS vocabulary instruction. In this activity, however, participants' interaction reveals something other than vocabulary teaching and learning. The segments to be presented demonstrate the *climax* of participants' recognition of LIBRAS as a language with a social life of its own:

T06/ S01. E-2. T01-8. The teacher is reviewing vocabulary items, when Rosa wants to ascertain the correct signs for the verbs "to decide", "to pay", and "to buy":

01 Rosa: ((*waving her hand to call the teacher's attention*))[decidir pagar comprar?=
{ to decide to pay to buy?}
02 Marcio: =não { to decide, to decide, to decide} ((*showing the correct configuration of the sign*))=
→ **03 Rosa:** =AH::: ((*looking at Lena*))[decidir com a [mão na vertical
{ to decide}[
→ **04 Marcio:** [((*signing for Riva*)){ to pay, to pay, to pay}=
→ **05 Lena:** =decidir? { to decide?} ((*looking at Rosa*))=
→ **06 Riva:** =[comprar? ((*responding to the teacher*))
07 Rosa: =[pagar, pagar
08 Marcio: ={ no}

((*the students start to take many simultaneous speech turns because they cannot tell apart the two signs*))

Type III



Lay-out: T06/ S01. E-2. T01-8

primary speaker and attender

secondary attender

This type of participation structure is akin to what Shultz, Florio, and Erickson (1982) call "interpolated single 'floor' with single floor level" (p. 26). In turn 03, Rosa (primary attender) comments with Lena (turn 5) on the teacher's correction (turn 02), while the teacher (primary speaker) does not relinquish the floor as he keeps his alignment with Riva (turn 06). The authors suggest that "'commentators' [referring to attenders] overlap what other commentators [referring to speakers] are saying and sometimes speak continuously simultaneously" (p. 26).

Even though hearing students and deaf teacher have pronounced these signs a couple of times, Riva's (turn 18) alignment with Rosa (turn 19) triggers the choral repetition of these signs again. While this repetition occurs, Marcio and Thiago are discussing the meaning of one sign Thiago has elicited:

T06/ S01. E-2. T018-35. After the students discuss the sign for the verb "to sell", they recall the discussion about the three previous signs. Since they do not get to an agreement, Riva calls Rosa:

→	**18 Riva:**	O::: Rosa decide	deCI::de=
			{decide}
→	**19 Rosa:**		deCI:de=
			{decide}
	20 Lena:		deCI:de=
			{decide}
	21 Glacy:		deCI:de=
			{decide}
	22 Sonia:	=paga=	

→ **23 Riva:** =PA::ga= ((*looking at Rosa*))
{ pay}
→ **24 Rosa:** =PA::ga=
{ pay}
25 Lena: =PA::ga=
{ pay}
26 Glacy: =PA::ga=
{ pay}

27 Sonia: =compra=

→ **28 Riva:** =COM::pra= ((*looking at Rosa*))
{ buy}
→ **29 Rosa:** =COM::pra=
{ buy}
30 Lena: =COM::pra=
{ buy}
31 Glacy: =COM::pra=
{ buy}

32 Sonia: =paga que é assim ((*showing to Lena*))
{ pay}

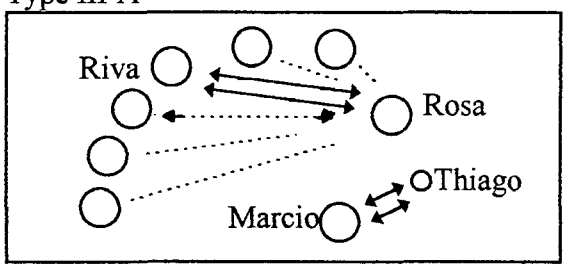
((*Simultaneous speech. Everybody disagrees about the correct pronunciation of the signs for "to pay" and "to buy". Then, they call the teacher who has been talking to Thiago*))

33 Riva: ((*asking the teacher*)) de novo decide compra paga=
{ again decide buy pay}

34 Lena: =não não é assim
35 Sonia: =não

((*the teacher is confused by so many simultaneous speech turns; but he starts performing the signs again*))

Type III-A



Lay-out: T06/ S01. E-2. T18-35

primary speaker and attender
secondary speaker
secondary attenders

In this type of participation structure, there are two distinct conversational floors, "with subgroups of the persons present participating in topically distinct simultaneous conversations" (p. 27). What is interesting to note here is the fact that

Marcio and Thiago's talk does not distract the hearing students and vice-versa, though these two conversational floors are being held simultaneously. The difference in their channel of communication is what allows this unique situation. Regarding the roles, we have two primary speakers (Marcio and Rosa) and two primary attenders (Thiago and Riva). The other students are secondary attenders who might become secondary speakers (same role as for type II).

4.2.1.1. A "parallel teaching" frame

The second major frame for this LIBRASFL classroom interaction involves those moments in which the conversational floor is open for discussion of two specific topics: LIBRAS structure and deaf-related issues. This discussion, however, is not managed by Marcio, the teacher--that is why I use the word "parallel teaching", in an attempt to highlight supporting teaching by Marta, who in fact takes on the role of floor-manager. Although Marta is enrolled in this group as a student, there are many moments in which her identity is projected in a way that she becomes the one with the higher status in the interaction. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) argue that language use allows for "the production and reproduction of social identity" (p. 1). This interactional frame builds a relationship of asymmetry among participants. Following Jacoby and Ochs' (1995) notion of 'co-construction', that is, the omnipresent "distributed responsibility among interlocutors for the creation of sequential coherence, identities, meaning, and events" (p. 177), I will show how and why participants attribute to Marta the recognisable role of a teacher:

T03/ S03. E-2. T01-6, 13-20, 24-25. Students are in doubt about the sign "to show" they see in the video, and the teacher decides to switch on the audiotrack for the video to see if they understand it:

01 Lena: [representar?=
02 Glacy: [ENCENAR?=

03 **Marcio:** [mostra mostra encena
{ show show perform}

→ 04 **Marta:** °então° VEJA BEM ó pera aí (.) ela botou PEÇA [MOSTRA
05 **Lena:** [é:
06 **Glacy:** [é:: pois é:
(1.3) ((*teacher looking at Marta*))

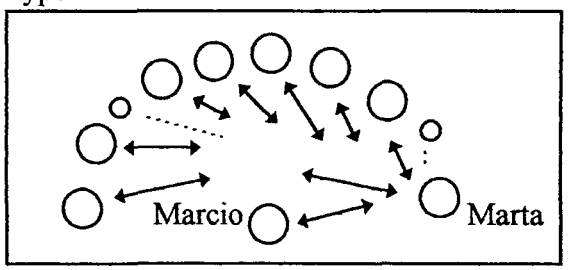
→ 13 **Marta:** =então A MENINA sujeito (.) PEGA VERbo a BOneca objeto °certo°=
14 **Lena:** =[arrãm=
15 **Glacy:** =[arrãm=
16 **Marta:** =EM LIBRAS CRI-AN-ÇA: PENsa no mais importan-te então [FALA BONECA PE-GA=
{ says the doll catch}
=[então o surdo pensa na importância pra fazer a sua frase=
{ so the deaf person thinks of the importance to make his sentence}

17 **Audrei:** =eu pergunto a importân-cia não varia de pessoa de surdo prá surdo?=
→ 18 **Marta:** =POR ISSO a flexibilidade=
19 **Audrei:** =então [ela
→ 20 **Marta:** [ELA FEZ [ERRADO
{ wrong}=

→ 24 **Riva:** ((*looking at Marta*)) °então° pros surdos o verbo geralmente acaba ficando mais pro final?=
→ 25 **Marta:** =vai dependê da importância que ELE VÊ na frase=

In this segment, Marta (turn 04) occupies the role of a teacher when she takes the floor to explain LIBRAS syntax. She becomes the one with higher status in this interaction when she displays and claims to control LIBRAS knowledge. This powerful position can be observed when Marta warrantedly says "ela fez errado" (turn 20) closing the discussion. Marta's identity is also sustained by the other participants as they recur to her (turn 24) whenever they want to clear up their doubts. The participation in this segment has the following structure:

Type IV



Lay-out: T03/ S03. E-2. T01-6, 13-20, 25-26

primary speaker and attender

secondary attender

This type has a "single conversational 'floor,' with all persons participating in it. There is only one primary speaker who is addressing all those present" (Shultz, Florio & Erickson, 1982, p. 25). Marta plays the role of primary speaker addressing the whole group (primary attenders). The deaf children, on the other hand, play the role of secondary attenders, which means that their attention to the conversation is needed to avoid interruptions to Marta's talk.

It is interesting to note in the following excerpt that even Marcio (the deaf teacher) asks Marta a question in relation to the syntactic difference between Portuguese and LIBRAS. This fact reveals the teacher's lack of knowledge as a language teaching specialist, and it also displays Marta's power to manage the interactional situation:

T03/ S03. E-2. T21-22.

→ **21 Marcio:** =[vou fazê pergunta (.) quando eu criança ditado verbo palavras se falava prá criança escrevê eu=
{ I'll ask a question when I was a child and had to take dictation of verb words I had to}

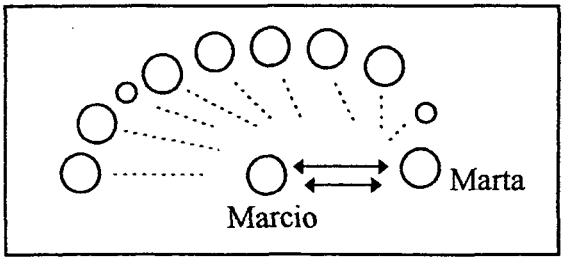
=[ficava preocupado eu quando escrevo eu elas as línguas falando escrevendo é diferente e perguntei prá professora=
{ write I was concerned when I had to write written and spoken languages they are different and I asked the}

=[por quê? (.) ela disse também não sei (.) ela falava o português e o inglês também é contrário=
{ teacher Why? (.) she said that she also didn't know (.) she said Portuguese and English are also the contrary}

(.)

→ **22 Marta:** =mas aqui ó:: ((*gets up and goes to write on the board*)) isto daqui prá nós ouvintes o som é=
=de /z/ ((*referring to the word "casa"*)) agora aqui na escrita é "x" ((*referring to "lixo"*))=
= e o som é /š/=

The participation structure found here is of type II (earlier described in the informal frame). Therefore, I will just provide the lay-out of Marta and Marcio's alignment:



Lay-out: T03/ S03. E-2. T21-22

↔ primary speaker and attender

..... secondary attender

The second topic-type that is constitutive of the parallel teaching frame involves the discussion of deaf-related issues--in most cases, difficulties the LIBRASFL-students face as educators in their daily practice:

T03/ S02. E-3. T01-6, 10-13. Students are looking at the video, when Luca says:

→ **01 Luca:** Ô:: Marta o meu questionamento:: o meu questionamento quan:to quan::to eu uma vez no curso =eu:::=
02 Marta: =no coral?=
03 Luca: =é eu uma vez num curso: eu:: (.) eu::: eu questionei muito a pessoa porque:: eles é:: não=
= explicam o significado da palavra pro surdo né: em primeiro lugar (.) o surdo só copia aquilo=
= que a pessoa está fazendo sem saber o significado da palavra (.) e ela substitui aquele=
= significado por outras palavras então quando você tá assistindo e você tá: soletrando o sinal=
= que eles tão fazendo não condiz com a música que você está ouvindo
(1.6)
→ **04 Marta:** tá=
05 Lu: =aí eu questionei o POR que não ensinar o sinal da PALA-VRA na frase?
(1.0)
→ **06 Marta:** tá então ((*waving her hand to call the teacher's attention*)) [ISTO é um problema mui::to grande=
{ this is a very big problem}=

=[aqui em Santa Catarina (.) esta professora que você está falando não é intérprete em PRIMEIro=
{ here in Santa Catarina (.) this teacher you are talking about she is not an interpreter in the first}

=[lugar (.) ela NÃO é INTÉRPREte (.) FALA que é: QUE é:: INTÉR-prete mas é mentira=
{ place she isn't an interpreter (.) she says that she is an interpreter but that is a lie}

→ **10 Marta:** =o que esse coral O QUE esse [coral faz não: é passar prá língua de sinais uma música que está em=
{ choir does is not to transfer to sign language a song that is}

=[português eles fazem o PORTUGUÊS si-na-li-zado então eu considero uma falta de respeito=
{ in Portuguese they do signed Portuguese so I consider this a lack of respect}

=[pelo surdo tá: (.) os ouvintes quando veêm a::: ô:::::=
{ with deaf people right (.) hearing people when they see it}

11 Lena: =[é verdade=
12 Marcio: =[{ they get silly}=

13 Marta: =[mas que LIN:do agora eu penso que tratam os surdos como retardados entendeu e as PESSOAS=
{ how beautiful but I think that they treat the deaf as stupid persons understand and people=
=que estão a frente desses corais não têm responsabilidade né (.) as vezes porque não sabem até=
=aonde estão não pensam e às vezes nem sabem da seriedade da coisa (.) OUTRAS VEZES é:: é=
=um assunto mais malicioso do que se possa pensar (.) MAS de qualquer jeito ou de um lado ou=
=de outro não têm respeito e É PREciso respeitar o surdo então o CORAL pra mim não é prá=
=surdo porque o surdo não vai fazê:: em LIBRAS o surdo vai fazer a música em português=
=sinalizado só vai atrapalhar ele=

When Luca (turn 01) selects Marta by calling her name, she is attributing this person the power of "knowledge controller" on matters related to deaf education. Marta

also contributes to sustain this alignment by paying attention to what Luca is saying, and, subsequently, by giving her feedback (turns 04 and 06). Even though she is concerned with Marcio (by calling him to participate, in turn 06), Marta manages the talk as the main speaker. Apparently, Marcio does not disapprove of these moments of supporting teaching, and he eventually participates (turn 12) by giving his opinion.

Finally, the last segment to be shown summarises the discussion about participants' interaction in this second frame:

T03/ S03. E-2. T27-31.

→ **27 Lena:** = (unintelligible) °então eu acho assim° que o no:sso: nós professores a gente têm que dá=
= importância tem que enTEN-DÊ isso né:: respeitar essa flexibilidade do deficiente auditivo
((*Marta says (in LIBRAS) to the teacher what Lena has said*))
((*3 seconds of multiply overlapping turns omitted*))
→ **28 Marta:** [né:: é dificil pro SURDO ESTU::DÁ NUMA ESCOLA COM TODAS as crianças ouvin-do=
{ it is difficult for a deaf person to study in a school together with all the other children hearing}

=[que tem:: O PORTUguês como a língua MA-TERNA=
{ who have the Portuguese language as their mother tongue}
29 Lena: =[é::=
30 Glacy: =[é::=
→ **31 Lena:** =((*looking at the teacher*)) é por isso que nós como professores temos que respeitar né:: o=
= surdo né (.) na linguagem

As if in a group therapy session, the hearing students' speech (turns 27, 28, and 31) voices their angst in relation to the many problems deaf people and hearing educators encounter in their daily life.

The analysis so far reveals an asymmetric relationship among participants within this frame. Through the observation of social participation structure, I was able to show how participants constitute the "parallel teaching" frame, and how and why Marta has been the person with the higher status, always having the role of a primary speaker in this interactional framing.

4.2.1.2. A "marginal teaching" frame

An intriguing question I always had as a researcher and specially as a foreign language teacher concerned how Marcio would deal with the two different audiences in these LIBRAFL classes. How could he deal with hearing adults and non-hearing children in the same class group? What would be the status of the deaf children? Up to what extent would the content of instruction differ from one audience to another?

It was easy to know *why* those deaf children were there; but it was not clear for me to define the status of these deaf children in the LIBRASFL classes observed. According to Marta, the co-ordinator of the course, Thiago and Tina are enrolled in this course to have another opportunity to be in contact with a deaf native-signer. This means that the main audience in this course is that of the hearing adults, even though this is not clear for the deaf children. In the very fieldnotes I have taken, Thiago asks his mother "✍ why doesn't the teacher teach me? "✍ because you're not paying for it". Although this short exchange between Thiago and his mother might not fully explain Thiago's status in the classes, this fact is somewhat true. It is true in the sense that this course's main purpose is to provide deaf educators with an opportunity to learn LIBRAS. Therefore, hearing people are the ones who *pay* to have classes with Marcio. Yet, Thiago and Tina are participants of the LIBRASFL group.

From then on, I started to observe carefully how and when Thiago and Tina were "brought into the scene", that is, I paid special attention to moments in which Marcio assigned a role for them in the ongoing activity of the day. In revisiting the data, then, I found very few moments in which Thiago and Tina were explicitly called to take part in the classroom activities:

T02/ S01. E-2. T01-05. The hearing students are practising dactylology. While the hearing students fingerspell words, Thiago (deaf) has to pay attention to provide the teacher with the respective sign:

→ **01 Marcio:** ((*pointing to Glacy*)) {✍ you}

→ **02 Glacy:** ((*fingerspelling for Thiago*)) /c/a/l/v/o/=
→ **03 Marta:** COITADO ele não vai saber o que é ISSO
((*while Marta says that, the teacher is looking at Thiago and explaining the meaning of bald to him*))
04 Audrei: o que é?
05 Argen: °calvo°

T02/ S02. E-2. T01-03. Marta is looking at her worksheet and saying:
→ **01 Marta:** a:: ESSE eu não vou dá prá ELE (.) CAIPIra °esse é sacanagem° CADA (.) esse ele não vai saber ESSA não=
02 Audrei: Marta (unintelligible)=
→ **03 Glacy:** =é: pior é esse (.) AVARO

T02/ S03. E-2. T01-7.
→ **01 Marcio:** { you} ((*asking Audrei to fingerspell the word "rubbish" to Thiago*))
02 Audrei: /b/e/s/t/e/i/r/a/ ((*teacher and Thiago looking at Audrei*))
03 Argen: ((*asking Marta*)) °ele sabe ler°?=

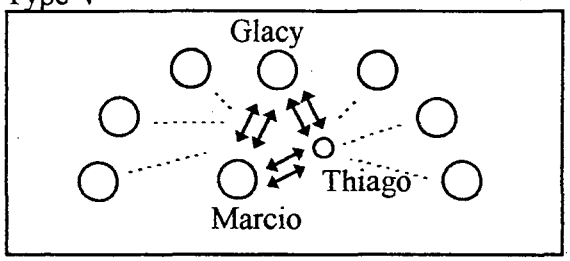
04 Marta: =SA:BE
(.)
05 Marta: °mas prá ele° AINda em processo de alfabetização né:: É MUIto DIFÍCIL de entendê
06 Marcio: ((*looking at Thiago*)) {  understood?}=
07 Thiago: {  yes}

In the classroom activity being developed here, Marcio asks Thiago to pay attention to the fingerspelling of the hearing students. However, as we can see in turns 03 (segment 01) and 01 and 03 (segment 02), the hearing participants display their view that the status of the content of instruction (LIBRAS) for Thiago is not selected appropriately. The words "calvo", "caipira" and "avaro" are too difficult for him to grasp the meaning of without contextualization.

The prevailing participation structure in this task has the teacher as the primary speaker, since he is the one who decides who will fingerspell words to Thiago. When he points to Glacy and Audrei (segments 01 and 03 respectively), he is maximising his role as a primary speaker, although he does that through a brief command. Thiago, on the other hand, has the role of a primary attender, since he has to pay attention to the word which is fingerspelt by the hearing students. Glacy (segment 01, turn 02) is the primary attender who becomes the primary speaker when Marcio gives her the chance to fingerspell the word "bald". The other hearing students are secondary attenders. It is

interesting to note that the observation made by Marta "coitado, ele não vai saber o que é isso" does not interrupt Marcio, Thiago, and Glacy, since Marta's talk is just offered indiscriminately onto the floor. Therefore, I do not consider her as a primary speaker in this specific case, even though she takes a turn at speaking. She does not take the role of "teacher" or floor-manager here as she does in the parallel teaching frame.

Type V



Lay-out: T02/ S01. E-2. T01-05

primary speaker and attender

secondary attenders

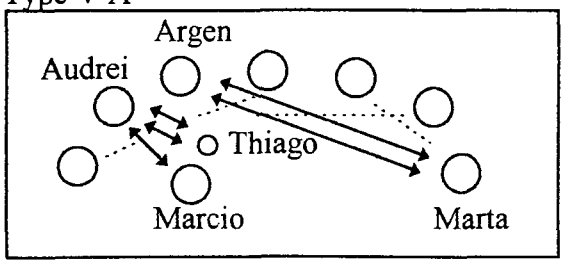
Besides the inadequacy of the status of the content of instruction for Thiago, "fingerspelling" (the manual alphabet used for spelling Portuguese lexicon) is a very difficult task for him. In addition to being deaf, he is still in the first grade, and he is not able to process fingerspelling as the adults in this group do:

T02/ S03. E-2. T01-7. The hearing students are practising dactylology. While the hearing students fingerspell the words, Thiago (deaf) has to pay attention to provide with the respective sign:

	01 Marcio:	{✍ you} ((*asking Audrei to fingerspell the word "rubbish" to Thiago*))
	02 Audrei:	/b/e/s/t/e/i/r/a/ ((*Thiago and teacher looking at Audrei*))
→	**03 Argen:**	((*asking Marta*)) °ele sabe ler°?=
→	**04 Marta:**	=SA:BE
		(.)
→	**05 Marta:**	°mas prá ele° AINda em processo de alfabetização né:: É MUIto DIFÍCIL de entendê
	06 Marcio:	((*looking at Thiago*)) {✍ understood?}=
	07 Thiago:	{✍ yes}

Marta--who provides educational support for Thiago, and, therefore knows about Thiago's limitations regarding this skill--comments on (turn 05) the difficulty Thiago has to understand fingerspelling.

Type V-A



Lay-out: T02/ S03. E-2. T01-7

primary speaker and attender

secondary attenders

Thiago is a very dynamic boy, he always interrupts the teacher to ask questions, and always shows interest in taking part in the tasks. Therefore, when Marcio does not assign him a role during class activities, or when Thiago is in doubt about something, he relies on his mother for help:

T02/ S10. E-1. T01-4. The teacher is reviewing the signs through flash cards:

01 Marcio: {✍ helicopter}

02 Students: ((*repeating the sign*)) {✍ helicopter}

→ **03 Thiago:** ((*looking at his mother*)) {✍ what's helicopter?}

→ **04 Rosa:** é helicóptero [aquele que tu viu
{✍ that one you saw}

In turn 04 Rosa has to provide assistance to Thiago. She then plays a central role supporting Thiago in these classes. Whenever the boy needs help, he calls on his mother, who creatively manages to provide the meaning of the vocabulary sign for him. At other times, Rosa decides to ask for Marcio's help, since he is a native speaker of LIBRAS and can more readily explain meanings to Thiago:

T02/ S05. E-2. T01-8. The hearing students are fingerspelling some words while the other students provide the word in Portuguese:

01 Marcio: ((*showing the card with the word "to bind"*))

02 Riva: ((*attempts to give the sign for the word "to bind"*))

03 Marcio: ((*saying the word*)) {✍ to bind}

04 Glacy: ã:::

((*Thiago is in doubt and he looks at Rosa, his mother*))

→ **05 Rosa:** {✍ look at the teacher}=

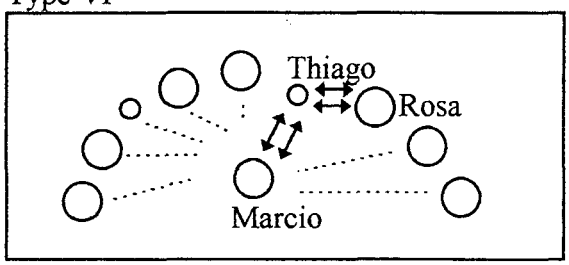
→ **06 Marcio:** =((*explaining to Thiago*)) {✍ look (.) the papers of the book together (.) many papers together sewn}=

→ **07 Thiago:** ={✍ sewn?} ((*showing doubt*))

→ **08 Teacher:** ((*the teacher looking at Argen*)) °você° tem livro por aí? tem livro?
((*she gives the book for the teacher, and the teacher shows Thiago what sewn means*))

It can be noted that, even though Thiago is not formally included in the task, he pays attention to the vocabulary items Marcio is teaching. In this participation structure, Marcio is the primary speaker, and Thiago the primary attender. The other students are secondary attenders in this exchange:

Type VI



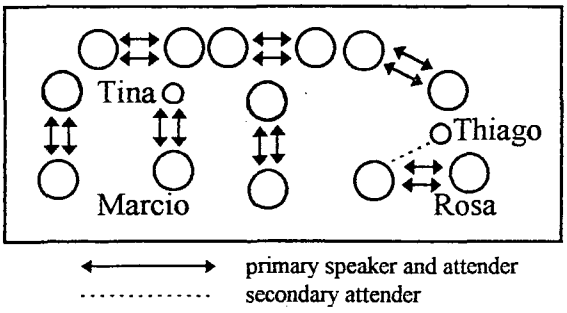
Lay-out: T02/ S05. E-2. T01-8

primary speaker and attender

secondary attenders

Differently from Thiago, Tina is quiet and shy. Whenever the teacher integrates her in some classroom tasks, she resists a lot. Once, Marcio prepared the first activity to be performed in pairs. He arranged the hearing students in the classroom in a total of six pairs, and gave each of them one piece of paper containing five words. The students were supposed to fingerspell the words and then come up with the sign which had been previously fingerspelt. The two deaf children (Thiago and Tina) were not included in the task. However, Thiago sat by his mother and Marta's side and participated in some moments, whenever he had any questions or doubts. Tina, on the other hand, did not sit with her mother. As the teacher perceived that she was the only person without any involvement, that is, she sat quietly by herself, Marcio picked up a book of colourful pictures and started doing some signs in LIBRAS to her. Initially, Tina only observed. At other times, she shyly repeated the signs. This interaction between the teacher and Tina lasted only a few minutes, and it was interrupted whenever other students had any doubt. In the next page, we have the lay-out of this type of participation structure:

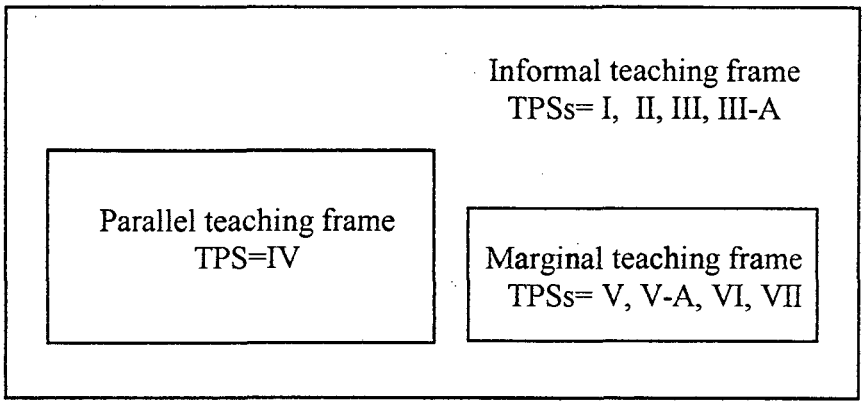
Type VII



In general, Thiago and Tina are not the main audience in this LIBRASFL course, even though they are formally enrolled as participants. The data reveal that the deaf children are rarely integrated to the classroom activities. They receive minimal attention, and, most of the times, they have to struggle to have the spotlight turned on to them. This happens mainly through interruptions. Moreover, when these deaf children have a role, the content of instruction is not designed to attend to their needs in at least two respects: adequacy of vocabulary choice and kind of classroom task. They are formally enrolled, but in practice they are excluded. That is why I call this the "marginal teaching" frame.

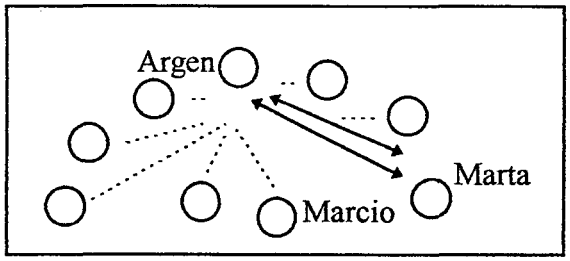
In sum, I am not comfortable saying what difference these children's attendance at this LIBRASFL course makes in terms of learning or acquisition, but I am confident saying that this picture reveals a huge lack of opportunity for deaf people that is typical in the educational system in Santa Catarina.

The illustration in the next page attempts to represent the lay-out of the three major interactional teaching frames within this interaction, and the summary of the types of social participation structures observed in these frames:



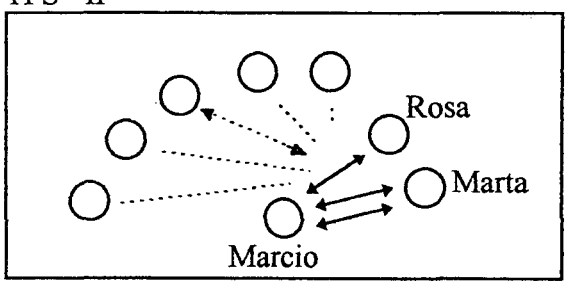
TPSs= Types of participation structures found in the interactional teaching frames

TPS= I



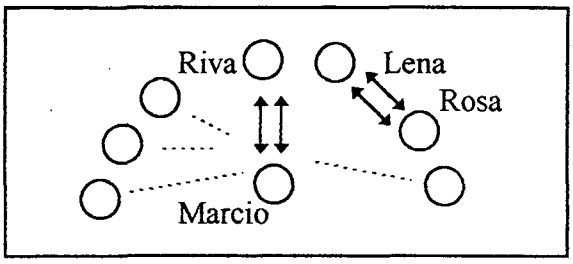
In type I, we have two hearing students as primary speakers and attenders.

TPS= II



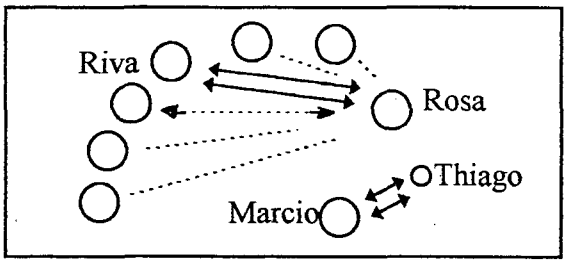
In type II, students and teacher act as primary speakers and attenders.

TPS= III



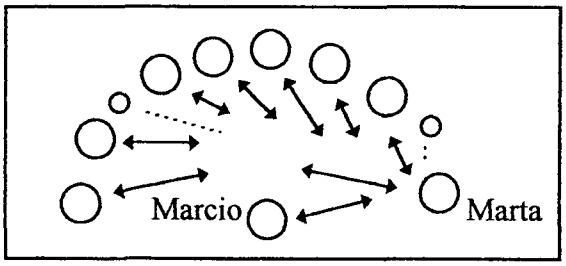
In type III, there are two conversational floors, with both teacher and students as primary speakers and attenders.

TPS= III-A



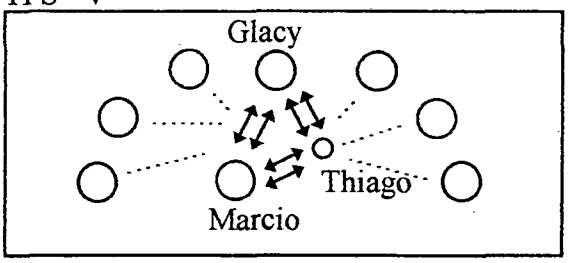
In type III-A, two conversational floors are managed simultaneously: hearing students act as primary speakers and attenders in one, and deaf teacher and deaf child in the other.

TPS= IV



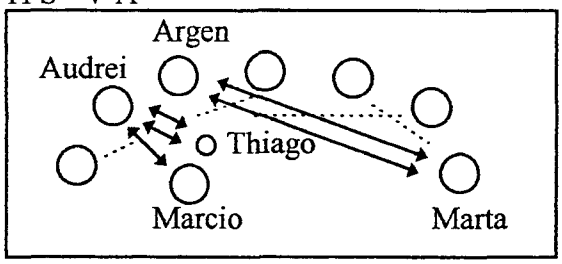
In type IV, one hearing student acts as primary speaker, and the deaf teacher and the other students as primary attenders.

TPS= V



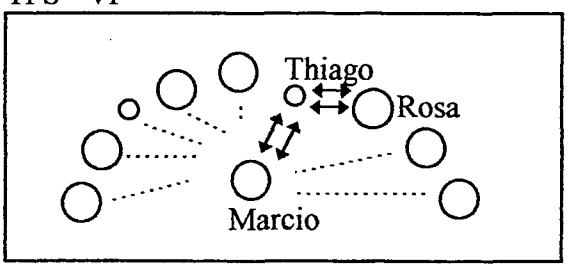
In type V, we have one hearing student, the deaf child and the teacher as primary speakers and attenders. The other students play the role of secondary attenders.

TPS= V-A



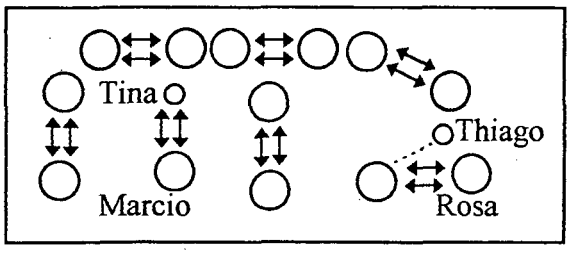
In type V-A, the same roles found in type V are enacted, but with a second conversational floor between two hearing students whose roles are of primary speakers and attenders.

TPS= VI



In type VI, we have mother, deaf child, and the teacher as primary speakers and attenders. The other students are secondary attenders.

TPS= VII



Finally, in the type VII, we have the whole group as primary speakers and attenders working in pairs, with the exception of one deaf child who plays the role of a secondary attender.

In this chapter, I have initially discussed the functions of oral speech, describing the interactional situation where it appears. By setting up a typology for the functions of oral speech, I stressed three major categories of speech use by the participants. The conversational functions analysed under the category of "elicited speech" refer to the *feedback on active visual vocabulary and fingerspelling comprehension.* As for the second category--referred to here as "spontaneous speech"--I highlighted *explanation, attention calling, correction, clarification, comprehension checking, vocabulary elicitation* and *translation* as the major conversational functions in this type of speech usage. Finally, I pointed out that the "simultaneous use of sign and speech" is a behaviour connected to the socio-cultural and physical context of these participants.

After discussing the functions of oral speech in this LIBRASFL setting, I started a discussion on the *co-construction* of the three major interactional teaching frames (informal, parallel and marginal) by participants, taking into account the notions of *footing* and *participation structures.* In the delineation of each teaching frame,

different types of participation structures were found. For the "informal teaching" frame, types I, II, III and III-A (see pages 90 and 91 for the lay-outs) were described. In the "parallel teaching" frame, participation structure of type IV was discussed (page 91). Finally, for the "marginal teaching" frame, we have types V, V-A, VI, VII (page 92 and 93).

Having analysed the functions of oral speech and the major interactional teaching frames that arise in this beginner LIBRASFL classroom interaction, let us now turn to the final chapter of this thesis, in which some remarks are made in regard to the analyses so far interpreted.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUDING REMARKS AND IMPLICATIONS

"The first thing that strikes me on hearing a Misfortune having befallen another is this: 'Well it cannot be helped--he will have the pleasure of trying the resources of his spirit". (John Keats, cited in Wright, 1969, p. 13)

5.1. Summary

This study described naturally occurring face-to-face interaction between a deaf native-signer teacher and his hearing and non-hearing students in a LIBRASFL classroom setting in order to see how these people (members of different cultures and users of different codes) understand one another.

This study started with a sociolinguistic overview of ASL and LIBRAS, which aimed at providing a better understanding regarding these sign languages both in terms of their history and development, and of their basic linguistic features that differ in relation to spoken languages. The description of the historical course of the educational status of these two sign languages indicated the strong influence of oralism over manualism during a long period of time in recent history. In the discussion of some linguistic features of sign languages, I emphasised their differences and similarities in relation to oral languages, showing some misconceptions people still have about deaf people's sign languages. Then, I moved on to a discussion of foreign language teaching and debated the applicability of standard FLT procedures into educational contexts of teaching sign languages as foreign or second languages, keeping in mind the linguistic features of such languages as discussed in the previous section.

Grounded on ethnographic methods (Agar, 1980; Erickson, 1992; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983), I described the context of investigation where participants came together to teach and learn LIBRASFL. This account emphasised the major constitutive elements of this teaching and learning event and referred respectively to the setting, the classes, and the participants. This description was followed by a discussion of the procedures employed for data collection and analysis.

After providing a comprehensive view of the context of investigation, I moved on to the analysis of some key events within these LIBRASFL classes. At this stage, I stressed the constant occurrence of speech (oralization) among deaf teacher and hearing students during their interaction. I suggested such constant oralization may be an inherent aspect of the culture of the hearing linguistic community. As a result of this analysis, I provided a typology of the functions of 'speech' in the LIBRASFL teaching events observed, taking into account Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualization cues in the production and processing of talk-in-interaction. Following this, I integrated some theoretical concepts such as social structures of participation (Shultz, Florio & Erickson, 1982), and footing (Goofman, 1981) into the discussion of the three major interactive frames the participants co-constructed in the events observed (Gumperz, 1982; Tannen & Wallat, 1993). In this analysis, I showed that the construction of some of these structures of participation appeared to pose a cross-cultural challenge to the participants due to their different native modality for communication (oral versus gestural). Additional remarks are made in relation to the analysis of this interactional context in the following section.

5.2. Remarks about the analysis of the interactional context

Throughout this work I observed that, in this intercultural teaching interaction between a deaf native-signer teacher and his hearing and non-hearing students, a great extent of their efforts had to be devoted to the co-construction of the symbolic object "LIBRAS". Jacoby and Ochs (1995) have argued that everything in interaction is "co-constructed". By co-construction, they mean "the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other *culturally meaningful reality* [italics added] " (p. 171). In this sense, in any face-to-face interaction "there is a distributed responsibility among interlocutors for the creation of sequential coherence, identities, meaning, and events" (p. 177).

In addition, the detailed observation of the data also showed that, even though the institutional goal for these participants was to *teach* and to *learn* LIBRAS (whatever their purposes and motivations), neither the deaf teacher nor the hearing students have a schema for what is supposed to happen in terms of LIBRASFL instruction, in contrast to an EFL classroom situation, for instance, in which participants already know what to expect from the social encounter because they have a fairly good "common" sense of what they ought to be doing together, and of what the symbolic object of their study is.

This specific setting, then, is complex and problematic in the sense that participants had to constitute, through intense joint action, "the object LIBRAS", and to construct "the context" for the teaching and learning of this foreign language *before they could do anything else.* Time, then, became scarce for these participants to attain what could be expected to be (from a standard FLT perspective) their main goal in these LIBRASFL classes.

Although interaction is crucial for the microsocial constitution of any language as such, at the macro, societal level of the constitution of its status as a language, a long journey lies ahead until LIBRAS is actually recognised for what it actually represents socially to a whole minority section of our population. The research findings in this study demonstrate that the attempt of the participants to approximate these two phenomena is perceived in the segments interpreted above, where the participants' actions show their struggle to recognise LIBRAS as a truly natural language.

5.3. Implications of this research

The perspective of interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982) in the analysis of language in social context was applied here to understand this LIBRASFL teaching and learning interaction. As Schiffrin (1996) puts it,

> this perspective can be applied not only to our understanding of classroom interactions ... but also to the way we *teach a language* [italics added]. It can be said that interactional sociolinguistics has a very general application (in defining the goal of language teaching), as well as more specific applications (in guiding lesson plans and interactions) in the classroom. (p. 323)

Yet, a lot has to be done in terms of LIBRASFL instruction in Santa Catarina and in Brazil. In this sense, I see that the field of applied linguistics becomes of crucial relevance for the field of deaf education and vice versa. The usefulness of such an analysis, then, is significant in the sense that this study attempted to work as a bridge between the field of deaf education and linguistics. Describing this context, where people (most of them teachers of deaf children) are learning LIBRAS as a foreign language, was a way to promote reflections on issues that, indirectly, might affect the teaching quality for deaf children.

Directly, however, the investigation raises questions that are crucial to foreign language teaching research:

T07/ S01. E-1. L17-18. The teacher shows a text taken from the newspaper and asks Marta to read it, while Ciça translates to LIBRAS what Marta is reading. However, the students are in doubt if she is performing signed Portuguese or LIBRAS:

17 Rosa: =assim ó:: ((*looking at* Marta)) na convivência com os surdos tu tens isso por exemplo se=
=eu for falar a frase eu vou pensar como é que o Thiago entende a frase (.) então aí é diferente=
=a forma como eu falo aí eu falo em LIBRAS=

→ **18 Marta:** =exatamente (.) POR quê é QUE: EU ESCOLHI UM SURDO PRÁ VIR DAR AULA de=
=LIBRAS? O QUE o que vinha acontecendo em alguns lugares ain-da ACONTECE é a=
=chamada de uma pessoa que eles deduzem estar APTA prá dar aula de LIBRAS e no=
=entanto essa pessoa é uma OUVINTE (.) ela vai TENder ao parâmetro da língua portuguesa=
=(.) então a NOssa ênfase é:: essa esse novo projeto da FENEIS é exatamente em função de=
=que o que nós precisamos é com o costume ir aprendendo os parâmetros da língua de sinais=
=entende? então o que a gente tá precisando agora com o curso dois é começar a perceber os=
=parâmetros que ele ((*ponting to the teacher*)) coloca=

The segment above shows Marta, the co-ordinator of the university office sponsoring the course and the most proficient LIBRAS signer besides the native-signer teacher, proffering the view that to be native in the target language is a crucial aspect in the teaching of LIBRAS. While, on the one hand, this view makes sense if one considers that there are not enough hearing teachers competent to perform in LIBRAS; it should not be assumed, on the other hand, that only deaf native-signers are ideal to be LIBRASFL teachers, since it can be expected that untrained native-signing teachers usually lack foreign language teacher training, and they tend to teach the language according to their folk theories of language and of learning.[51] On this issue, Wilcox and Wilcox (1997) cite Kanda and Fleisher (1988) by saying that "language teachers must have certain qualifications and skills, and teachers of ASL [or sign languages in general] are no exception. ... It is no longer enough just to 'sign well' or to 'be deaf'" (p. 115).

Whether native of the target language or not, both hearing and non-hearing people lack support in terms of sign language instruction, which in turn, prevents them

[51] Abrahão (1996), for instance, shows how teachers tend to develop their practice based on the influence of their professional formation.

from becoming the best LIBRASFL teachers they could be.[52] This research, then, shows the need for supporting LIBRASFL educators who will be competent to perform in the language, who will be familiar with the culture and history of deaf people, and who will be skilled FL professionals.

As far as the teaching of the language itself is concerned, one relevant question about LIBRASFL instruction includes what grammatical patterns should be taught, and in what sequence they should be introduced. Moreover, a reflection on the kind of materials and classroom activities that could be applied to this context is also relevant. This could be grounded on the considerations made in relation to the applicability of FLT methods in sign language teaching contexts as discussed in section 2.3 of this study.

Since Brazilian Sign Language is a fully structured natural--and thus social--language, people can not assume that the teaching of the language itself is enough. The awareness and the knowledge about the history and culture of the deaf community are also crucial in the teaching of LIBRASFL. In this sense, the analysis and understanding of the differences and similarities between the hearing and non-hearing cultures, as well as the historical development of sign language should be important questions in LIBRASFL instruction.

As for the field of deaf education, it can have this study as a reference source. Educators can benefit from the information and insights that this description may provide in the promotion of reflections about their daily practice. A significant contribution of this research, however, is to awake language educators' awareness to the need of using the children's natural language in classroom instruction. Educators of

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[52] In this sense, Souza (1998) stresses the importance of LIBR2AS oficialization regarding the implications that it would have in terms of governmental responsibilities (p. 104).

deaf children, in particular, should, from this reading, become motivated and interested in learning Brazilian Sign Language as a way to facilitate their work, and, above all, to facilitate deaf children's learning.

Thus, investigating and describing this classroom where hearing people are teaching and learning LIBRASFL was a way to reinforce the need for professionals trained to perform within a context of deaf language and culture. Furthermore, this study attempted to call other fields' attention to how much they can contribute to and learn from deaf related studies. In summary, it is hoped that this study fosters people's interest to research (especially in the promotion of higher quality instruction of LIBRASFL) in this new and developing professional field.

APPENDIX

This appendix is divided in two parts. The firt one presents the transcribed segments, and the second part brings some of the tasks used by the deaf teacher in his LIBRASFL classes.

T02/ S01. E-1. T01-11.

01 Marcio: { you }
(.)
02 Rosa: /c/i/ú/[m/e
03 Thiago: [{ wait (.) again}=
04 Rosa: =/c/i/ú/m/e/ ((*the teacher looks at Thiago to see if he understood*))
(.)
05 Marcio: você quando faz ((*showing the way she fingerspells the accent of the word*)) acento asSIM=
06 Rosa: =não bo::ta acen::to?=
07 Marcio: =assim prá baixo (.) de cima prá bai[xo
08 Rosa: [ah:: é prá baixo?=
09 Marcio: =é
((*Rosa repeats the fingerspelling and asks for the teacher who is looking at her*))
10 Rosa: como fala (.) como FAla por sinal?=
11 Marcio: ={ jealousy}

T02/ S01. E-2. T01-05.

01 Marcio: ((*pointing to Glacy*)) { you}
02 Glacy: ((*fingerspelling for Thiago*)) /c/a/l/v/o=
03 Marta: COITADO ele não vai saber o que é ISSO
((*while Marta says that, the teacher is looking at Thiago and explaining the meaning of bald to him*))
04 Audrei: o que é?
05 Argen: °calvo°

T02/ S02. E-1. T01-5.

01 Marcio: você faz assim com a mão ((*showing with his hand*))
02 Lena: a::é:[:
03 Marcio: [não precisa=
04 Lena: =eu faço prá mim=
05 Marcio: =não assim

T02/ S02. E-2. T01-03.

01 Marta: a:: ESSE eu não vou dá prá ELE (.) CAIPIra °esse é sacanagem° CADA (.) esse ele não vai saber ESSA não=
02 Audrei: Marta (unintelligible)=
03 Glacy: =é: pior é esse (.) AVARO

T02/ S03. E-1. T01-6.

01 Marcio: { misfortune} ((*showing the flash card with this word*))
02 Audrei: e sorte? sorte? SORte? ((*looking at the teacher*))
03 Marcio: { sorry?}
04 Audrei: /s/o/r/t/e
05 Marcio: { lucky} ((*answering the students' question*))=
06 Audrei: =mas aqui não é CHA-to?
((*the teacher shows that the difference between these two signs is in the facial expression*))

T02/ S03. E-2. T01-7.

01 Marcio: {✍ you} ((*asking Audrei to fingerspell the word "rubbish" to Thiago*))
02 Audrei: /b/e/s/t/e/i/r/a ((*the teacher and Thiago looking at Audrei*))
03 Argen: ((*asking Marta*)) °ele sabe ler°?=
04 Marta: =SA:BE
(.)
05 Marta: °mas prá ele° AINda em processo de alfabetização né:: É MUIto DIFÍCIL de entendê
06 Marcio: ((*looking at Thiago*)) {✍ understood?}=
07 Thiago: {✍ yes}

T02/ S04. E-1. T01-19.

01 Audrei: cosTUme? cos-tu-me? ((*asking the teacher*))=
02 Glacy: =[aqui ((*showing the sign, but the teacher is not seeing her*)) {✍ custom}
03 Marcio: =[{✍ custom} ((*answering the question*))
(.)
04 Audrei: e BRANco? °branco é o quê?° ((*the teacher is not looking at Audrei, then Marta answers Audrei's question*))=
05 Marta: =branco é aqui {✍ white} ((*looking at the teacher, asking for confirmation*))=
06 Audrei: =ah: é o B=
07 Glacy: =é o B aqui=
08 Marcio: =BRÃco (.) BRÃco °é pouco mais devagar° brã:[co ((*confirming to Marta*))
{✍white white} {✍ white}
09 Riva: [°é mais devagar°=
10 Rosa: =cur::so ((*performing the sign for the teacher as an attempt for the right signal*))=
11 Marcio: =CURSo curso ((*correcting Rosa*))=
{✍ course course}
12 Rosa: =curso também °assim?° {✍ course}
13 Teacher: =e TREinar {✍ same} ((*speaking to Rosa*))=
14 Rosa: =treina::r [curso
{✍ train course}
15 Marta: [treinar é o curso
16 Audrei: =[ah:::=
17 Riva: =[ah::=
18 Rosa: =branco é o b (.) é o b (.) branco é o B (.) ((*speaking to the teacher*))
{✍ white b} {✍ b}
19 Marcio: ((*confirms it by showing the sign again*)) é

T02/ S05. E-1. T01.

01 Marcio: VÊ o que tá falando (.) vê o que ELA falando

T02/ S05. E-2. T01-8.

01 Marcio: ((*showing the card with the word "to bind"*))
02 Riva: ((*attempts to give the sign for the word "to bind"*))
03 Marcio: ((*saying the word*)) {✍ to bind}
04 Glacy: ã:::
((*Thiago is in doubt and he looks at Rosa, his mother*))
05 Rosa: {✍ look at the teacher}=
06 Marcio: =((*explainning to Thiago*)) {✍ look (.) the papers of the book together (.) many papers together sewn}=
07 Thiago: ={✍ sewn?} ((*showing doubt*))
08 Teacher: ((*the teacher looking at Argen*)) °você° têm livro por aí?têm livro?
((*she gives the book for the teacher, and the teacher shows Thiago what sewn means*))

T02/ S06. E-1. T01-9.

01 Marcio: ((*pointing to Glacy and Riva*)) °vocês duas° (.) vê se pega o QUE ela falou (.) vocês duas (.) PEga o quê que ela falou tá? ela vai falá agora (unintelligible)
02 Riva: /e/s/p/e/r=
03 Glacy: =calma calma=
04 Lena: =°calma° (unintelligible)
05 Riva: /e/s/p/e/r/t/o/=
06 Marta: =[esperto ((*the teacher does not see Marta saying it*))=
07 Marcio: =[o que é? ((*looking at Glacy*))
(4.0) ((*Marcio is looking at the other students near Glacy, and then Riva repeats the sign to Glacy*))
08 Glacy: ã:: agora deu prá pegar ((*answering to the teacher*)) esPErto=
09 Marcio: =é:: (.) PEga (.) PREsta atenção (.) vê se confere o que outros falaram (.) PREsta atenção

T02/ S07. E-1. T01-2.

01 Marta: como é que é me-Tl-do?
02 Marcio: {nosy}

T02/ S08. E-1. T01-18.

01 Marta: PÔ:: cara (.) QUAL é:: cara (unintelligible) cada NO:::me ((*the teacher is not looking at her when she says this*))
02 Marcio: {carpentry}
03 Marta: ((*waves her hand to call his attention*)) PÉra aí ó ô (.) PÉRA aí.(.) {carpenter}é carpin-TEI-RO?=
04 Glacy: =é::=
05 Marcio: ((*confirms by nodding afirmatively*))
06 Marta: =AÍ É [LUGAR=
{place}
07 Glacy: [profissão=
08 Marcio: =°tudo igual° (.) é CARpintaria=
09 Marta: = o LUgar=
10 Marcio: =é:=
11 Marta: =LU-gar onde o CARPINTEIro trabalha=
12 Marcio: =é:: ((*nodding his head*))
13 Audrei: <como é que diz> esse sinal de lugar (.) tem que fazê isso aqui? ((*looking at Marta and performing the sign for place*)) {place}
14 Marta: {carpentry} é só assim né? num é? ((*signing for Audrei, and asking for the teachers' confirmation*))
15 Marcio: ((*nods affirmatively*))
16 Audrei: <e se quiser falar carpinTEIRO>?
17 Marta: [HOMEM CARPINTEIRO
{carpenter}
18 Riva: [HOMEM CARPINTEIRO
{carpenter}

T02/ S09. E-1. T01-3.

01 Riva: como é que é descon-fi-a-do?
02 Marcio: {distrustful}
03 Riva: assim? ((*performing the sign*))

T02/ S10. E-1. T01-4.

01 Marcio: {helicopter}
02 Students: ((*repeating the sign*)) {helicopter}
03 Thiago: ((*looking at his mother*)) {what's helicopter?}
04 Rosa: é helicóptero [aquele que tu viu
{that one you saw}

T03/ S01. E-1. T01.

01 Marcio: vô botá °um° intérprete ((*pointing to the video*)) (.) olha só (.) {✍ take a look (.) interpreter (.) without sound (.) see if you understand (.)} ENTEnde (.) {✍ look}

T03/ S02. E-1. T01-3.

01 Riva: limpo?

02 Marcio: {✍ clean} ((*confirming*))

03 Riva: ah:::

T03/ S02. E-3. T01-13.

01 Luca: Ô:: Marta o meu questionamento:: o meu questionamento quan:to quan::to eu uma vez no curso =eu:::=

02 Marta: =no coral?=

03 Luca: =é eu uma vez num curso: eu:: (.) eu::: eu questionei muito a pessoa porque:: eles é:: não= = explicam o significado da palavra pro surdo né: em primeiro lugar (.) o surdo só copia aquilo= = que a pessoa está fazendo sem saber o significado da palavra (.) e ela substitui aquele= = significado por outras palavras então quando você tá assistindo e você tá: soletrando o sinal= = que eles tão fazendo não condiz com a música que você está ouvindo

(1.6)

04 Marta: tá=

05 Lu: =aí eu questionei o POR quê não ensinar o sinal da PALA-VRA na frase?

(1.0)

06 Marta: tá então ((*waving her hand to call the teacher's attention*)) [ISTO é um problema mui::to grande= {✍ this is a very big problem}=

=[aqui em Santa Catarina (.) esta professora que você está falando não é intérprete em PRIMEIro= {✍ here in Santa Catarina (.) this teacher you are talking about she is not an interpreter in the first}

=[lugar (.) ela NÃO é INTÉRPREte (.) FALA que é: QUE é:: INTÉR-prete mas é mentira= {✍ place she isn't an interpreter (.) she says that she is an interpreter but that is a lie}

07 Luca: =não mas não é dessa pessoa que eu tô falando é:: uma outra interprete que é formada pela FENEIS e que e que em CURITIBA não em BRUsque ela ela:: trabalha lá na universidade de Itajaí e ELA fez a mesma coisa QUE essa minha AMIGA: fez aqui também e aí que eu questionei porque eu achava [absurdo=

08 Marta: [não veja bem

09 Luca: =essa minha amiga fazer isso=

10 Marta: =o que esse coral O QUE esse [coral faz não: é passar prá língua de sinais uma música que está em= {✍ choir does is not to transfer to sign language a song that is}

=[português eles fazem o PORTUGUÊS si-na-li-zado então eu considero uma falta de respeito= {✍ in Portuguese they do signed Portuguese so I consider this a lack of respect}

=[pelo surdo tá: (.) os ouvintes quando vêem a::: ô:::::= {✍ with deaf people right (.) hearing people when they see it}

11 Lena: =[é verdade=

12 Marcio: =[{✍ they get silly}=

13 Marta: =[mas que LIN:do agora eu penso que tratam os surdos como retardados entendeu e as PESSOAS= {✍ how beautiful but I think that they treat the deaf as stupid persons understand and people= =que estão a frente desses corais não têm responsabilidade né (.) as vezes porque não sabem até= =aonde estão não pensam e às vezes nem sabem da seriedade da coisa (.) OUTRAS VEZES é:: é= =um assunto mais malicioso do que se possa pensar (.) MAS de qualquer jeito ou de um lado ou= =de outro não têm respeito e É PREciso respeitar o surdo então o CORAL pra mim não é prá= =surdo porque o surdo não vai fazê:: em LIBRAS o surdo vai fazer a música em português= =sinalizado só vai atrapalhar ele=

T03/ S03. E-1. T01-4.

01 Riva: ((*waving her hand to call the teacher's attention*)) Onde é que ela fala ali: FAvela?=
02 Marcio: =lá no RIO=
03 Riva: =não não (.) qual é o GES-TO de faVELA?=
04 Marcio: =GEsto? GEsto? ((*putting the top of both hands together and inclining the hands from one side to another*)) {✍ slum} (unintelligible) casa de madeira casa tóta

T03/ S03. E-2. T01-31.

01 Lena: [representar?=
02 Glacy: [ENCENAR?=

03 Marcio: [mostra, mostra, encena
{✍ show, show, perform}

04 Marta: °então° VEJA BEM ó pera aí (.) ela botou PEÇA [MOSTRA
05 Lena: [é:
06 Glacy: [é:: pois é:
(1.3) ((*teacher looking at Marta*))

07 Marta: [a flexibilidade
08 Audrei: [o problema disso sabe o que que é: é [que eu acho que ela é intérprete né:=
09 Marta: [objeto na frente do verbo
10 Audrei: =é o intérprete né: na hora de decidir as palavras que ele vai usar e na hora da pressa ali prá da=
=a notíci [a talvez
11 Marta: [não mas não é simultâneo não é simultâneo ela JÁ tem conhecimento anterior=
12 Glacy: =é::=
13 Marta: =então A MENINA sujeito (.) PEGA VERbo, a BOneca objeto, °certo°=
14 Lena: =[arrãm=
15 Glacy: =[arrãm=
16 Marta: =EM LIBRAS CRI-AN-ÇA: PENsa no mais importan-te então [FALA BONECA PE-GA=
[{✍ says the doll catch}
=[então o surdo pensa na importância pra fazer a sua frase=
[{✍ so the deaf person thinks of the importance to make his sentence}

17 Audrei: =eu pergunto a importân-cia não varia de pessoa de surdo prá surdo?=
18 Marta: =POR ISSO a flexibilidade=
19 Audrei: =então [ela
20 Marta: [ELA FEZ [ERRADO
[{✍ wrong}=
((*Lena is interupted by the teacher*))
21 Marcio: =[vou fazê pergunta (.) quando eu criança ditado verbo palavras se falava prá criança escrevê eu=
[{✍ I'll ask a question when I was a child and had to take dictation of verb words I had to}

=[ficava preocupado eu quando escrevo eu elas as línguas falando escrevendo é diferente e perguntei prá professora=
[{✍ write I was concerned when I had to write written and spoken languages they are different and I asked the}

=[por quê? (.) ela disse também não sei (.) ela falava o português e o inglês também é contrário=
[{✍ teacher Why? (.) she said that she also didn't know (.) she said Portuguese and English are also the contrary}
(.)
22 Marta: =mas aqui ó:: ((*gets up and goes to write on the board*)) isto daqui prá nós ouvintes o som é=
=de /z/ ((*referring to the word "casa"*)) agora aqui na escrita é "x" ((*referring to "lixo"*))=
= e o som é /s/=

23 Riva: =o x mesmo tem:: três quatros sons né?
((*the teacher going in direction of the tv to continue the video section*))

24 Riva: ((*looking at Marta*)) °então° pros surdos o verbo geralmente acaba ficando mais pro final?=
25 Marta: =vai dependê da importância que ELE VÊ na frase=
26 Audrei: = <mais eu não entendi porquê>

27 Lena: = (unintelligible) °então eu acho assim° que o no:sso: nós professores a gente têm que dá=
= importância tem que enTEN-DÊ isso né:: respeitar essa flexibilidade do deficiente auditivo
((*Marta says (in LIBRAS) to the teacher what Lena has said*))
((*3 seconds of multiply overlapping turns omitted*))

28 Marta: [né:: é difícil pro SURDO ESTU::DÁ NUMA ESCOLA COM TODAS as crianças ouvin-do=
{ it is difficult for a deaf person to study in a school together with all the other children hearing}

=[que têm:: O PORTUguês como a língua MA-TERNA=
{ who have Portuguese as their mother tongue}

29 Lena: =[é::=
30 Glacy: =[é::=
31 Lena: =((*looking at the teacher*)) é por isso que nós como professores temos que respeitar né:: o=
= surdo né (.) na linguagem

T04/ S01. E-1. T01-14.

01 Marcio: { big rectangle small rectangle}
02 Students: ((*looking at the worksheet, but they don't find the figures in the same order*))
03 Lena: viu como tem que espelhar (unintelligible)
04 Rosa: não tem? (unintelligible) ((*referring to the absence of the command from the teacher*))
05 Marta: TEM { small rectangle and big rectangle} ((*telling the teacher what she found on the worksheet*))=
06 Marcio: =[{ big rectangle small rectangle [não tem ((*agreeing with Marta*))
{ there isn't}
07 Luca: =[a Marta mas (unintelligible) pequenininho depois grande (unintelligible)
08 Marcio: [espera (.) °agora o certo° (.) agora o certo
{ wait}
((*students looking at the teacher*))
09 Marcio: { small rectangle}=
10 Riva: =peque:no=
11 Marcio: { big rectangle}=
12 Riva: =gra:nde (.)°agora sim°
13 Luca: [AH::::
14 Rosa: [AH::

T04/ S02. E-1. T01-5.

01 Marcio: { to suffer, to suffer, to suffer }
02 Audrei: ((*waving hands to call the teacher's attention to provide the answer for the sign*)) fome?
03 Marcio: { no} ((*looking at students to see if somebody responds*))
04 Aila: °sofrer?°
05 Marcio: { yes}

T04/ S03. E-1. T01-14.

01 Marcio: { shorts} ((*looking at Glacy*))
02 Riva: °saia°=
03 Audrei: =[saia
04 Glacy: =[SAIA
05 Sonia: =[saia
06 Marcio: ((*performing the sign for the word mentioned*)) { mini-skirt}
07 Riva: =saia é °assim°?=
08 Sonia: [bermuda?=
09 Aila: [SHOrts?=
10 Glacy: [SHOrts?=
11 Riva: =bermuda ou °shorts°=
12 Marcio: ((*nodding his head, in disagreement with the answer, and performing the sign again*)) { mini-skirt}

13 Glacy: minisaia ((*waving her hand to call the teacher's attention, since she perceives he was not looking at her*)) <minisaia> MIni-saia

14 Marcio: {✍ ok}

T04/ S04. E-1. T01-2.

01 Aila: animais?

02 Marcio: {✍ animals}

T04/ S05. E-1. T01-15.

01 Audrei: ((*performing a sentence with the sign "why" and asking the teacher if the use is correct*)) {✍ why did she go away?}

02 Marcio: ((*repeating the sentence in agreement*)) {✍ right, "why did she go away?"}

(.)

03 Marcio: (unintelhgible) ((*repeating the same sentence in LIBRAS and in Portuguese performing the sign "why" in one way*)) [POr que foi embora? Por quê? antes=
{✍ Why did she go away? Why? before}

04 Audrei: =arrãm=

05 Marcio: =[hoje ((*performing the sign "why" in another way*))[porquê vai embora?=
{✍ today} {✍ why did she go away?}

06 Audrei: =e por que não usar [por[quê?
{✍ why?}

07 Marcio: [pois é ((*demonstrating doubt in his facial expression*))=

08 Rosa: =pois é ele não SABE ((*the teacher is not looking at Rosa, but he immediately turns his body to her and asks her the difference in the use of the two signs for "why". Rosa says she has no idea*))

09 Marcio: ((*looking at Marta and performing one of the signs to her*))=

10 Marta: antes? {✍ before}=

11 Marcio: =é

12 Marta: =há muito tempo atrás? {✍ a long time ago}

(.)

13 Marcio: {✍ yes}=

14 Marta: =ah SIM [houve uma mudança na língua

15 Audrei: [<como é que é como é que é?>ah tá se usava UM agora...

T06/ S01. E-1. T01-5.

01 Glacy: o quê? ler?=

02 Marcio: ={✍ shut up}=

03 Riva: ={✍ yes, she speaks all the time} ((*looking at the teacher*)) =

04 Glacy: =AH:: esqueci ((*smilling and talking to the teacher*)) {✍ sorry, I forgot}=

05 Marcio: ={✍ you speak all the time, close the mouth}

T06/ S01. E-2. T01-35.

01 Rosa: ((*waving her hand to call the teacher's attention*))[decidir pagar comprar?=
{✍ to decide to pay to buy?}

02 Marcio: =não {✍ to decide, to decide, to decide} ((*showing the correct configuration of the sign*))=

03 Rosa: =AH::: ((*looking at Lena*))[decidir com a [mão na vertical
{✍ to decide}

04 Marcio: [((*signing for Riva*))]{✍ to pay, to pay, to pay}=

05 Lena: =decidir? {✍ to decide?} ((*looking at Rosa*))=

06 Riva: =[comprar? ((*responding to the teacher*))

07 Rosa: =[pagar, pagar

08 Marcio: ={✍ no}

((*the students start to take many simultaneous speech turns because they cannot tell apart the two signs*))

09 Lena: ((*looking at the teacher*)) [pagar pagar pagar=
{ pay pay pay}

10 Teacher: =[pagar=
{ pay}

11 Riva: =((*saying to the teacher*)) {  confusing}=

12 Teacher: =((*repeating the signs again*))[compra paga=
{ buy pay}

13 Riva: =[compra=
{ buy}

14 Teacher: =[decidir=
{ decide}

15 Riva: =[decide
{ decide}

16 Sonia: =decide

17 Lena: =decide

((*the students discuss the sign for the verb "to sell", and they recall the discussion for the three previous signs*))

18 Riva: O::: Rosa decide [deCI::de=
{ decide}

19 Rosa: deCI:de=
{ decide}

20 Lena: deCI:de=
{ decide}

21 Glacy: deCI:de=
{ decide}

22 Sonia: =paga=

23 Riva: =[PA::ga= ((*looking at Rosa*))
{  pay}

24 Rosa: =[PA::ga=
{  pay}

25 Lena: =[PA::ga=
{  pay}

26 Glacy: =[PA::ga=
{  pay}

27 Sonia: =compra=

28 Riva: =[COM::pra= ((*looking at Rosa*))
{  buy}

29 Rosa: =[COM::pra=
{  buy}

30 Lena: =[COM::pra=
{  buy}

31 Glacy: =[COM::pra=
{  buy}

32 Sonia: =paga que é [assim ((*showing to Lena*))
{ pay}

((*Simultaneous speech. Everybody disagrees about the correct pronunciation of the signs for "to pay" and "to buy". Then, they call the teacher who has been talking to Thiago*))

33 Riva: ((*asking the teacher*)) [de novo decide compra paga=
{ again decide buy pay}

34 Lena: =[não não é assim

35 Sonia: =[não

((*the teacher is confused by so many simultaneous speech turns; but he starts performing the signs again*))

T07/ S01. E-1. T01-58. T

01 Argen: ((*looking at Marta*)) °mas° tem que falar como se fosse um surdo ou palavra por palavra?=

02 Rosa: =a:: pois é aí:: é que tá

((*all students start to laugh, and the teacher stops the activity and looks at them*))

03 Riva: =muito boa pergunta muito boa pergunta=

04 Rosa: =Português sinalizado é DIFEren::te=

05 Marta: =((*looking at the teacher*)) { she asked is this LIBRAS or signed Portuguese?}=

06 Marcio: =não { LIBRAS LIBRAS forget Portuguese}=

07 Audrei: =posso só fazer uma interrupção Marta (.) só uma perguntinha lembra que foi colocado uma vez que é o surdo que denomina a importância da colocação das palavras na frase (.) ela não é uma surda mas se ela tá falando com um surdo o ponto de vista dela ela não pode escolher qual é a ênfase que ela dá? e coincidentemente acontece que tá sendo na ordem da língua materna dela?=

08 Marta: = não=

09 Audrei: =não pode[isso?=

10 Marta: [não coincidentemente TAMBÉM ESTÁ acontecentdo a sinalização além da coinciDÊNCIA AQUI ((*referring to the text)*) quando ela diz é::: quando um adulto diz isso está mandando a criança sair (.) ela ((*referring to Ciça*)) fez exatamente ESTÁ MANDANDO A CRIANÇA se distrair entendeu? SE ELA tivesse falado é:: a frase como um todo tendo a ênfase naquilo que ela coloca (.) porquê ela coloca a ênfase no Português certo entendeu? ela estaria as vezes coincidindo MAIS a maioria das vezes não coincidindo=

11 Audrei: =não porquê esse processo é consciente certo? ela tem digamos a língua portuguesa como parâmetro prá sinalizar a[outra língua AGORA

12 Marta: [mais porquê ela não aprendeu direito ainda a língua de sinais então ela faz o parâmetro da língua portuguesa mas o certo é ela fazer o parâmetro da língua de sinais igual o Inglês=

13 Audrei: °claro mas° sendo esse parâmetro não tendo ordem=

14 Marta: =não não é aleatório sempre=

15 Students: =a:::=

16 Marta: =não é assim as coisas tem regras a língua de sinais também têm as suas regras por isso ela que é uma língua então a: a:: disponibilidade em alguns momentos ela é mais livre em termos de colocação sintática verbo sujeito né: e objeto (.) agora numa num caso desses ela ((*referring to Ciça*)) tá somente tendo o parâmetro da língua portuguesa e não é por aí o que a gente precisa é aprender o parâmetro na língua de sinais=

17 Rosa: =assim ó:: ((*looking at* Marta)) na convivência com os surdos tu tens isso por exemplo se= =eu for falar a frase eu vou pensar como é que o Thiago entende a frase (.) então aí é diferente= =a forma como eu falo aí eu falo em LIBRAS=

18 Marta: =exatamente (.) POR quê é QUE: EU ESCOLHI UM SURDO PRÁ VIR DAR AULA de= =LIBRAS? O QUE o que vinha acontecendo em alguns lugares ain-da ACONTECE é a= =chamada de uma pessoa que eles deduzem estar APTA prá dar aula de LIBRAS e no= =entanto essa pessoa é uma OUVINTE (.) ela vai TENder ao parâmetro da língua portuguesa= =(.) então a NOssa ênfase é:: essa esse novo projeto da FENEIS é exatamente em função de= =que o que nós precisamos é com o costume ir aprendendo os parâmetros da língua de sinais= =entende? então o que a gente tá precisando agora com o curso dois é começar a perceber os= =parâmetros que ele ((*ponting to the teacher*)) coloca=

19 Audrei: =então já que (unintelligible) a pergunta seria ela sinalizou de acordo com o português certo?= =como seria de acordo com o surdo?=

20 Marta: =mas ele ((*pointing to the teacher*)) vai fazer isso=

21 Audrei: =isso seria importante ele fazer enquanto ela tá fazendo talvez prá gente pegá=

22 Students: =É:::

23 Marta: ((*calling the teacher*)) { she said ((*referring to Argen*)) that reading the text in Portuguese= = is not LIBRAS because we hear the order of the words in Portuguese. It would be better if one = student read the text while you sign it in LIBRAS}=

24 Marcio: =como vou ouvir? sou surdo=
{ How will I hear? I am deaf}
25 Audrei: =mas ele pode ler junto com a Marta=
26 Marta: =((*talking to teacher*)){ you can read all the text first, and say it in LIBRAS afterwords}=
27 Marcio: =((*talking to Ciça*)) Marta falou você fala cada palavra (.) tem que ler tudo junto
{ she said you speak each word you have to read all together}

((*5 seconds of multiply overlapping turns omitted*))

28 Glacy: ((*talking to Ciça*)) como é que você falaria para a sua filha?=
29 Marcio: =((*talking to Marta*)) { too difficult} ((*as if he is giving up the task*))=
30 Marta: =NÃO É difi-cil não é dificil é diferente=
31 Riva: não é difícil=
32 Marcio: =não tá fácil de entenDÊ=
33 Rosa: =NÃO é (.) nós temos que entendê como que fala LIBRAS em LIBRAS e não em =
{ we have to understand how to speak LIBRAS in LIBRAS and not in}
= Português e nós sempre pensamos em Português=
{ Portuguese and we always think in Portuguese}
34 Glacy: = [é::=
35 Lena: = [é::=
36 Rosa: =e essa é a dificuldade=
37 Marta: =quer ver como eu falaria como EU FALAria ((*standing up and going in front of the class*)) AQUI diz assim ó: "qual o melhor brinquedo" perguntando então pergunta qual o melhor brinquedo?
{ which is the best toy?} { which is the best toy?}

=então primeiro o surdo vai dizer assim ó pergunta então aquele que tá ouvindo o surdo já sabe que=
{ asks so that one who is hearing the deaf already knows}
=o que ele vai fazer é a entonação da interrogação como <se fosse na língua portuguesa> né: então ele já diz assim pergunta quem tá assistindo a ele na na língua já sabe que será na intonação interrogativa
{ who is looking at him in LIBRAS}
=pergunta qual o melhor brinquedo? né aí depois o texto diz assim "MEnino vá brincar"=
{ which is the best toy?}

=garoto vá brincar então você IMAGIna vá brincar né:: aí diz é:: ((*looking the text*)) "quando um=
{ boy go play} { you imagine go play}
=adulto diz isso está mandando a criança se distrair" quando pessoa fala prá criança é porque ela=
{ when the person says to the child it is}
=precisa brincar
{ because she needs to play}
(1.2) ((*Marta looking at everybody*))
38 Marta: é como eu faria e aí com isso eu já dei todo o contexto e ela ((*pointing to one deaf child*)) percebeu=
=ela entendeu que eu quero que ela brinque
{ she understood that I want that she plays}
(1.9)
39 Marta: °aí que é o negócio° é DIFERENTE do que você ficar re-ten-do a coisa em função do Português=
=porquê amanhã nós vamos ter o terceiro nível e depois nós vamos ter o curso de intérprete=
{ tomorrow} { interpreter}
=então para o curso de intérprete nós vamos precisar entender perceber entender essa escrita=
{ course of interpreter we need to understand to perceive to understand this writing}
=essa FALA do ouvinte em língua portuguesa prá interpretá prá língua de sinais né=
{ this speech of the hearing in Portuguese language to interpret into sign language}

40 Marcio: = { difficult}=
41 Marta: =não é difícil o texto NÓS é que estamos precisando nos acostumar a VER e passar pra língua de sinais=
{ the text is not difficult and we are needing to get used to see and transfer to sign language}
42 Lena: =porque o que importa é ser fiel ao contexto né:=

43 Marta: =ISSO=
44 Lena: =e o tipo assim ser fiel ao contexto e de uma maneira que o ouvinte entende né? e esse entende=
=no caso em língua de sinais (.) se é o surdo já vai ser mais capaz se pegar porque é uma coisa=
=intuitiva mesmo (.) mas prá gente é mais complicado=
45 Marta: =°mas por isso o curso°=
46 Lena: =não é claro eu sei (.) eu só tô afirmando isso né=
47 Audrei: =o Marta talvez o exercício funcionasse se a gente lesse textos pequenos e da nossa interpretação=
=fosse lá sinalizasse ((*unintelligible*)) porque lê e sinaliza é interpretar simultaneamente uma=
=outra língua=
48 Rosa: =como é que quando nós fizemos aquele exercício de contar uma estória funCIONOU=
49 Glacy: =[é:::=
50 Lena: =[é::=
51 Rosa: =((*looking at the teacher*))[antes quando nós contamos uma estória cada um a sua funcionou=
{ before when each one of us told a story it worked out}

=[por quê? por que nós sabíamos o quê que nós queríamos contar né? então=
{ why? because we knew what we wanted to tell, right? then }

=[você ((*pointing to the teacher*)) distribui no computador BONITO ((*laughs*)) textos=
{ you ((*pointing to the teacher*)) distribute in the computer beautiful short texts=

=[pequenos prá cada um (.) daí a gente lê e passa=
{ for each student (.) then we read and transfer it}=

52 Marta: =((*looking at the teacher*)) EU TENHO uma suges-TÃO POsso?=
53 Marcio: ={ sure}=
54 Marta: =[eu tenho lá na minha sala vários livros de estórias prá crianças (.) nós podíamos LER a estória=
{ I've got there in my room many storybooks for children (.) we could read the story}

=[e falar para as colegas essa estórias=
{ and tell our colleagues these stories}

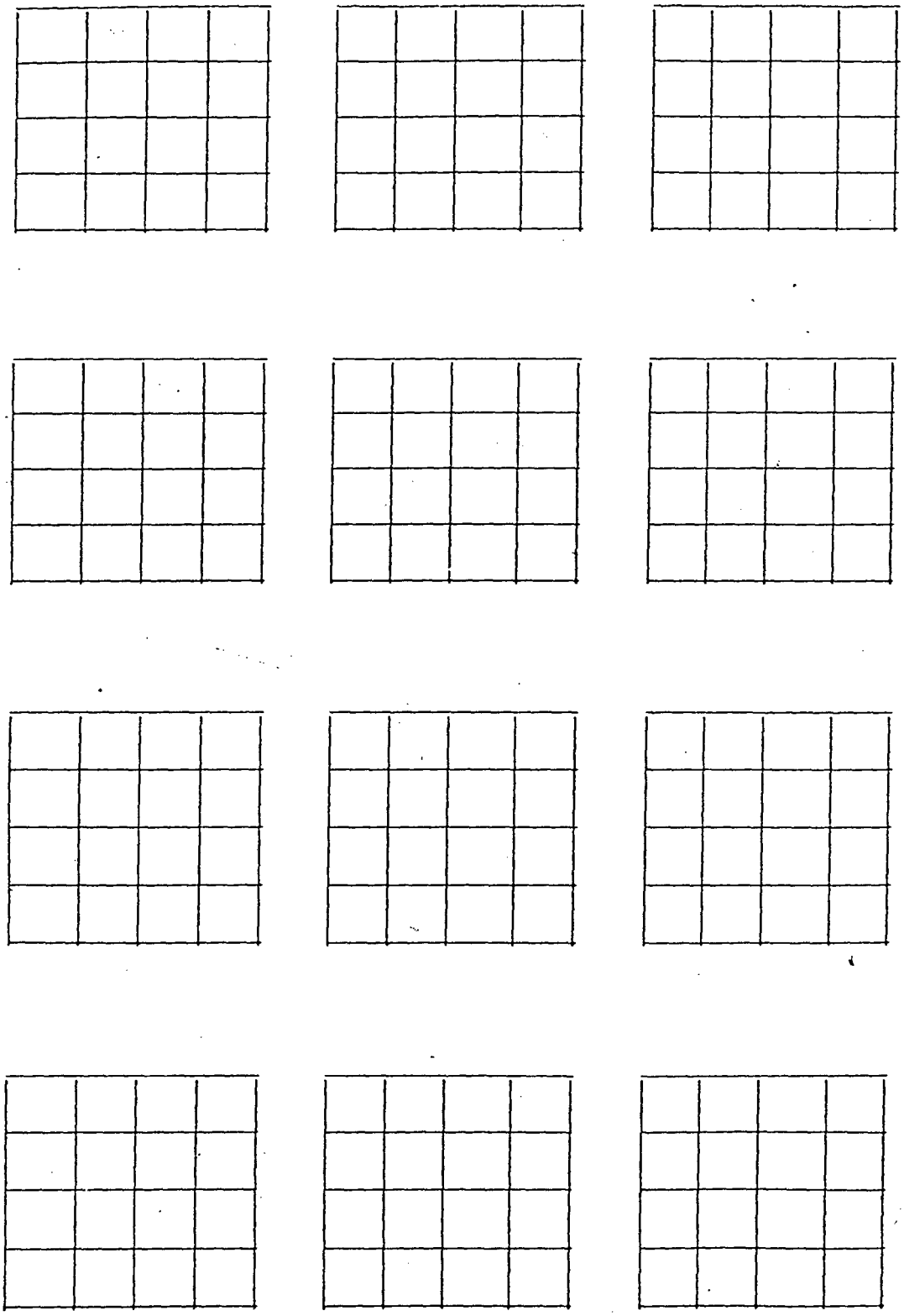
55 Glacy: =[ótimo=
56 Rosa: =[é::=
57 Marcio: =[ok=
58 Marta: =tá bom eu vou pegar lá

T08/ S01. E-1. T01-7.
01 Marcio: agora SÉrie como é? como é [primeira segunda terceira quarta quinta sexta[sétima oitava=
{ first second third fourth fifth sixth seventh eight}
02 Marta: [SÉtima OItava=
03 Marcio: =só?=
04 Marta: =só=
05 Marcio: =[colegial? primeiro segundo terceiro
{ first second third}
(.)
06 Marta: segundo GRAU (.) NÃO É colegial que fala mais
07 Marcio: ah:: segundo grau

T08/ S02. E-1. T01-4.
01 Marcio: [hoje=
{ today}
02 Students: ={ today}
03 Marcio: [meio=
{ half}
04 Students: { half}

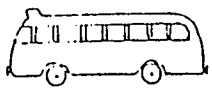
Quadros

Preste atenção ao professor. Ele vai mostrar os quadrículos em que você deverá marcar um "X" nos quadros.



Desenhos no Quadro

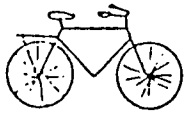
O professor vai identificar um dos quadrículos e dar o sinal correspondente de um dos objetos desenhados. Após localizar no papel, o aluno coloca a letra correspondente ao objeto no quadrículo identificado. Veja indicação abaixo. Lembre-se como utilizar a perspectiva da pessoa que faz o sinal.

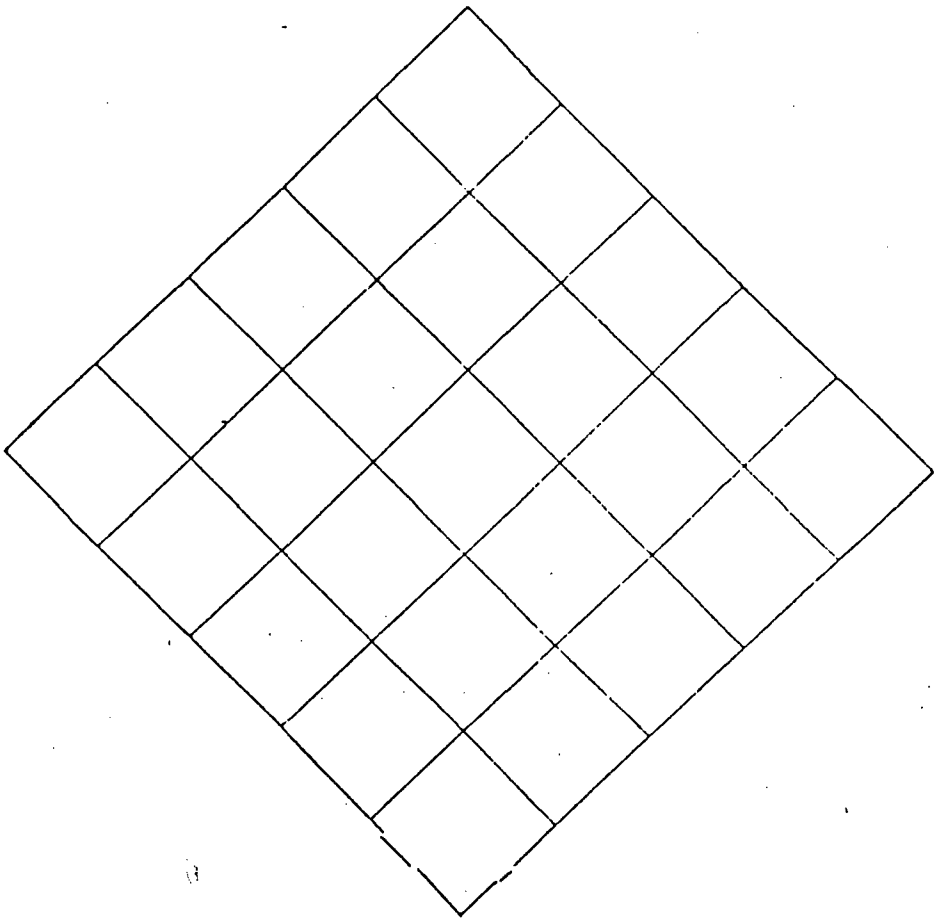
A. 

B. 

C. 

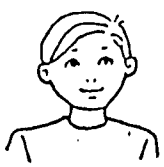
D. 

E. 



F. 

G. 

H. 

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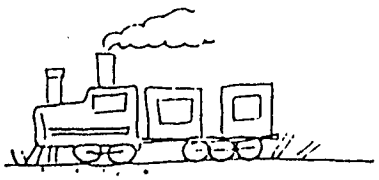
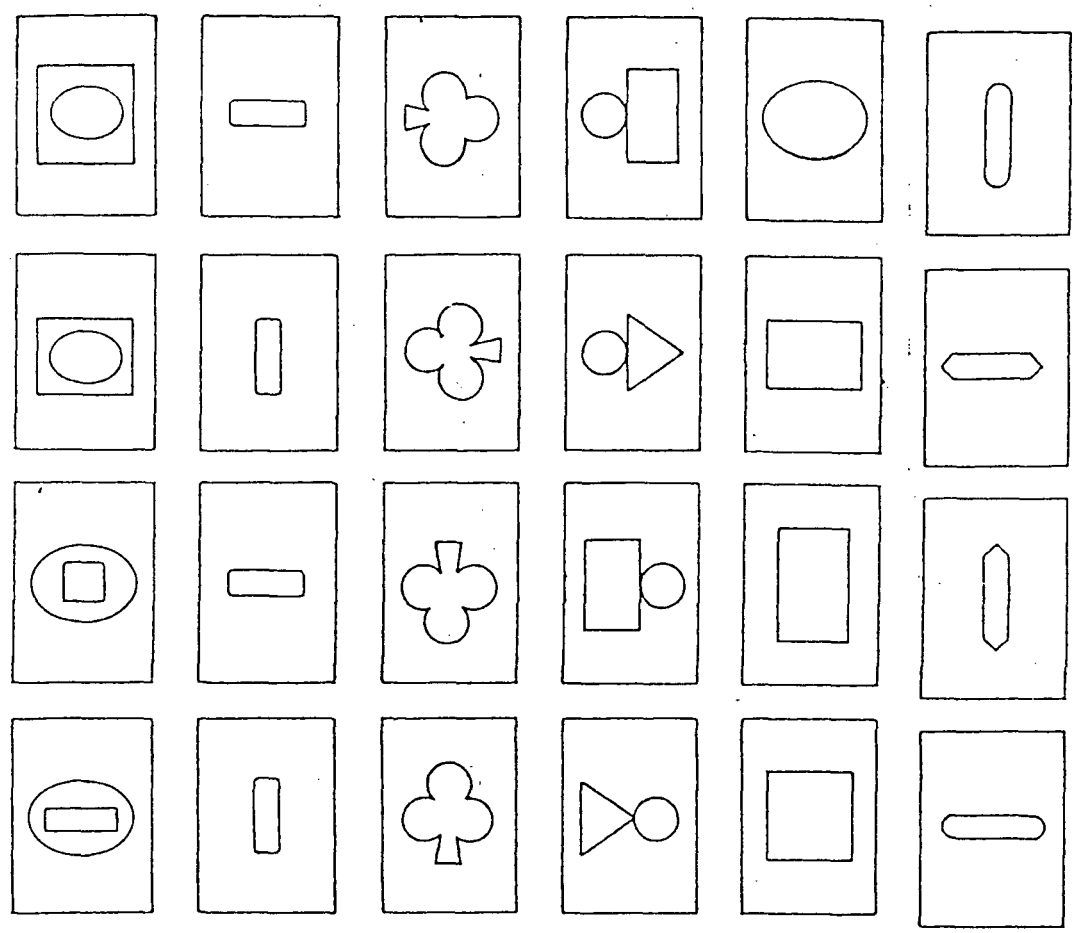
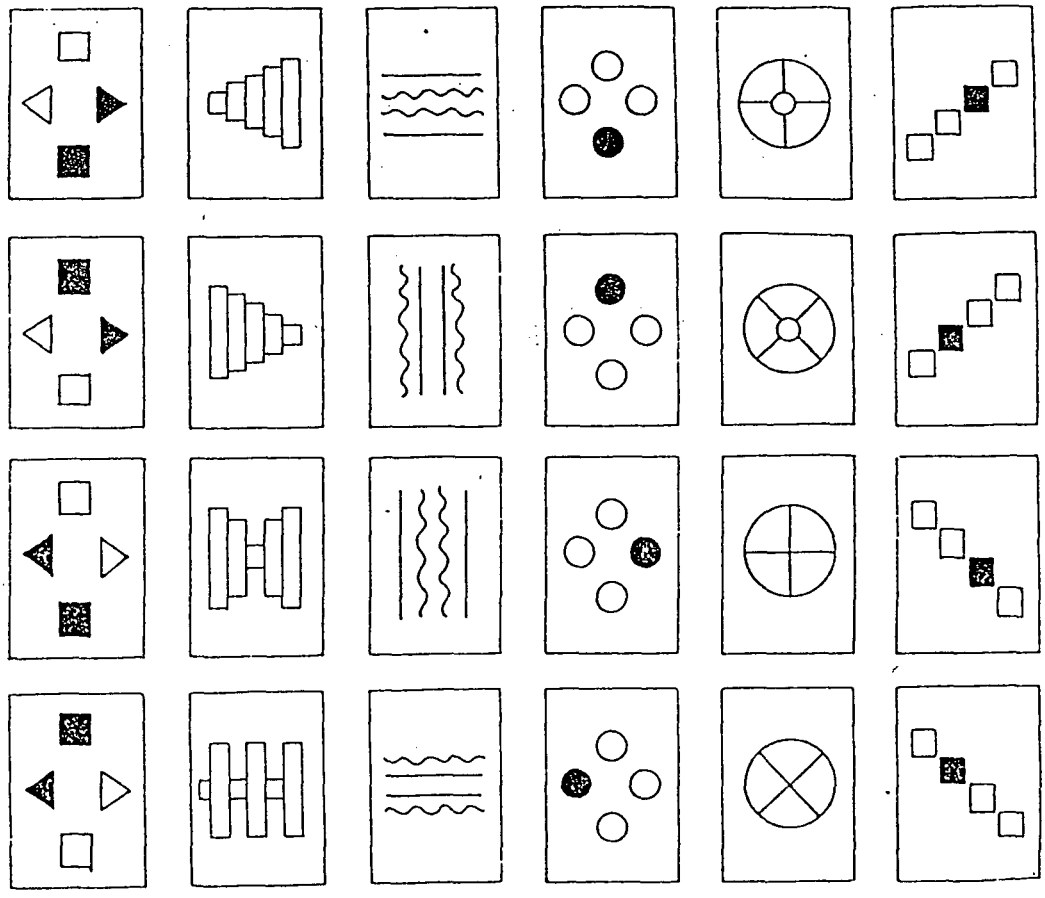
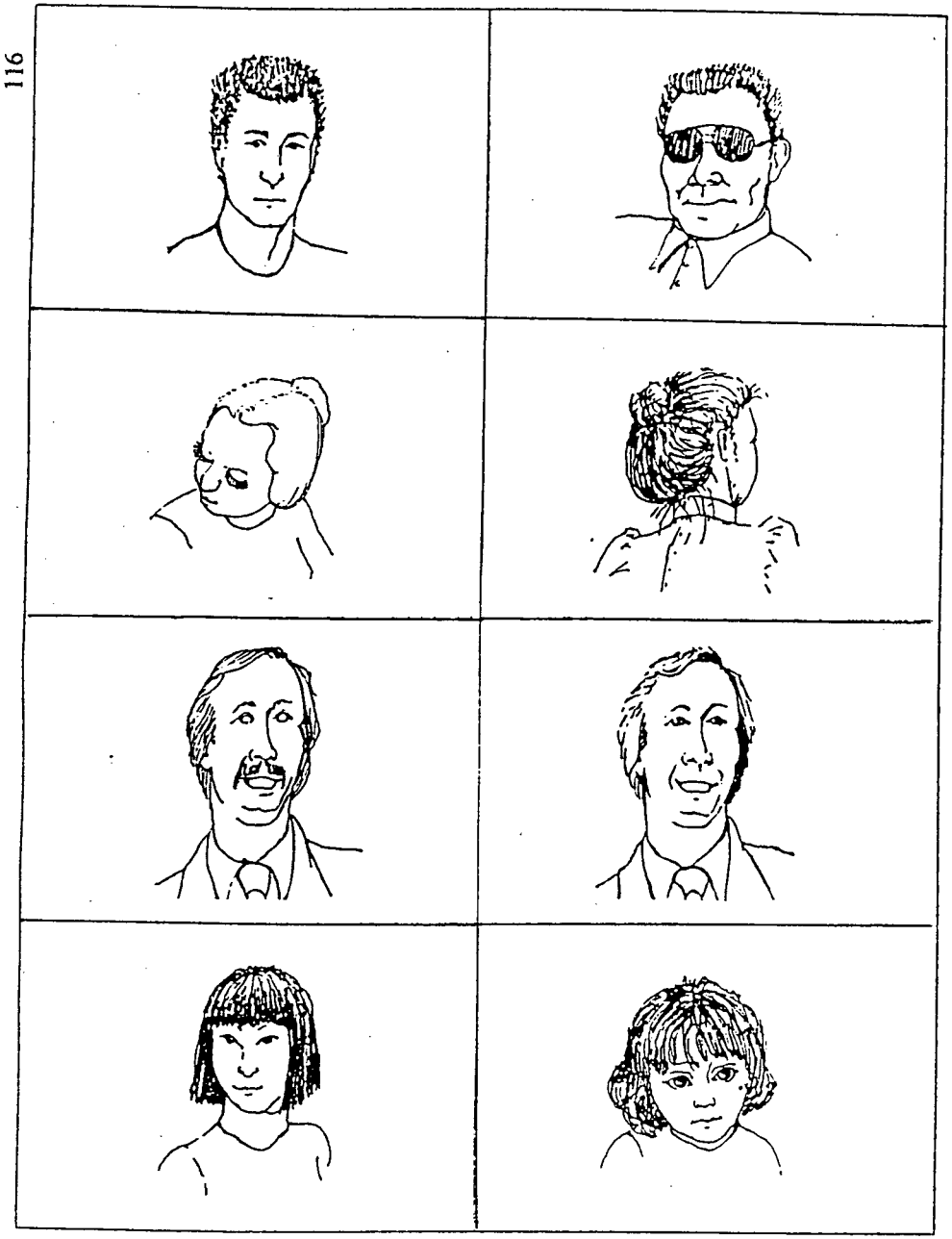
J. 

K. 



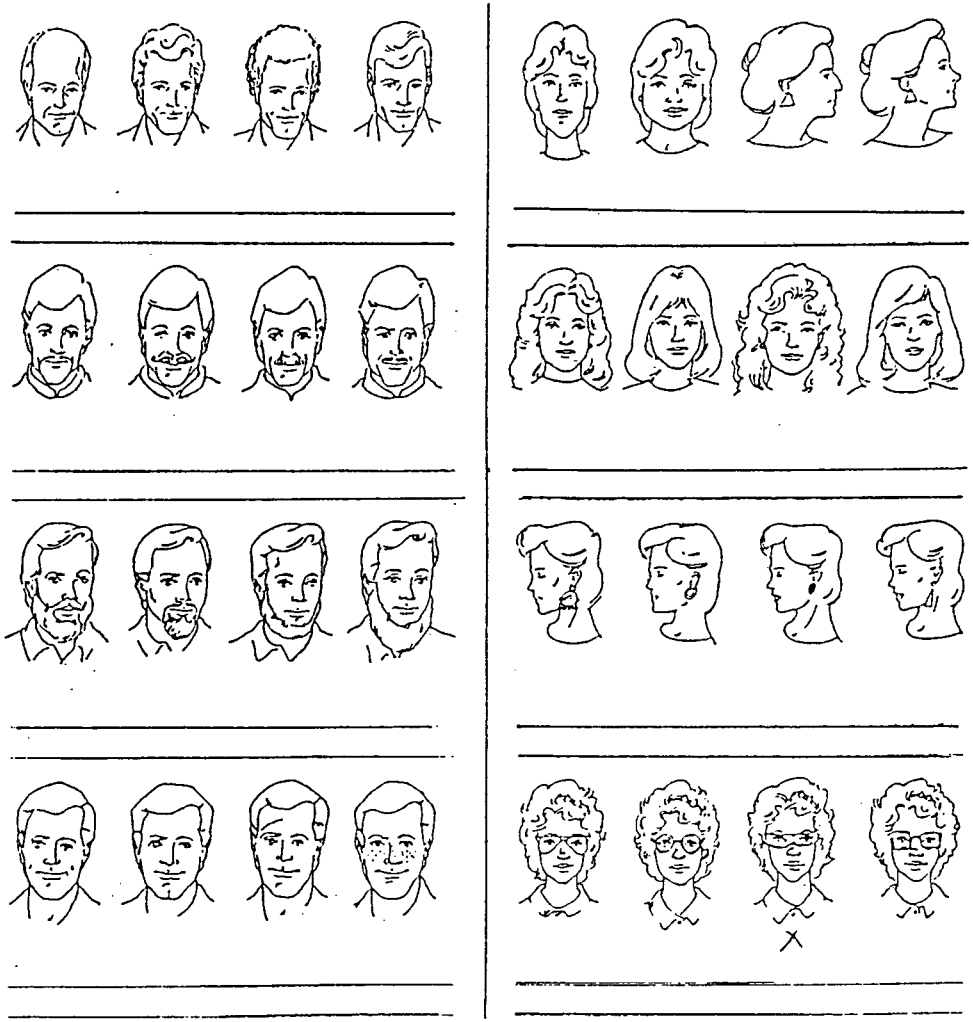


Pares Semelhantes



Rostos em Fileiras

Direções: Identifique uma pessoa abaixo com uma curta descrição e dê uma informação sobre essa pessoa. Você e seu parceiro devem escrever a informação abaixo o rosto correto. Seu parceiro, então, descreverá uma outra pessoa nessa fileira; anote a informação que ele deu abaixo do rosto correto. Continue fazendo o mesmo para todos os rostos na folha de exercícios.



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